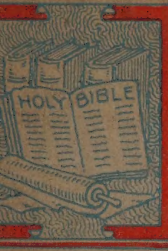

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Pray then, for strength to keep the sacred trust,
Prohibit, too, the drink by God accursed.

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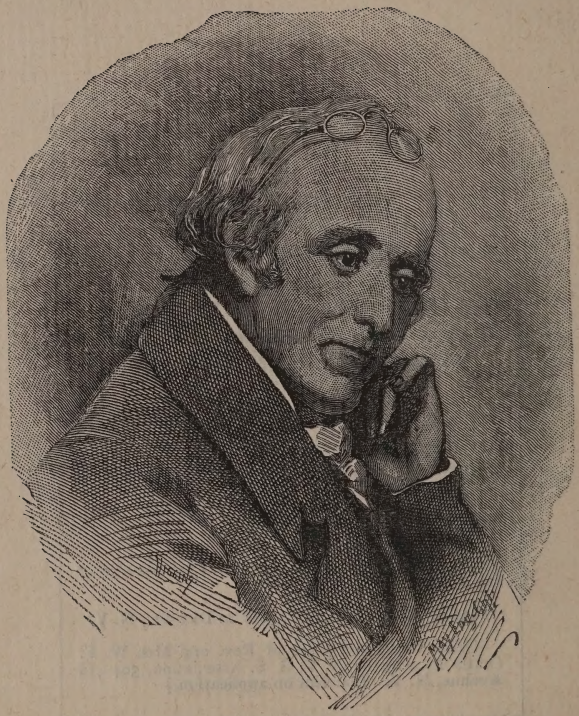

DR. BENJAMIN RUSH.

[Born in Philadelphia, December 24, 1745; died April 19, 1813.]

THE LEADER IN THE ANGLO-SAXON ASSAULT UPON INTEMPERANCE AND WAR, AND ONE OF THE FIRST AND FOREMOST IN ITS CONFLICT AGAINST DESPOTISM, SLAVERY, AND THE WRONGS OF WOMAN.

WHAT THE TEMPERANCE CENTURY HAS MADE CERTAIN

In Regard to Intemperance and Other Social Problems of the Anglo-Saxon Nations,

WITH A

SYMPOSIUM OF SUGGESTIONS,

FOR

THE NEW CENTURY.

By REV. WILBUR FISK CRAFTS, A.M.,

Author of "Successful Men of To-Day," "The Sabbath for Man," etc.

"Experience is the best of schoolmasters, but he takes dreadfully high wages."—*Carlyle.*

"Sooner or later it will be necessary for the intelligent and progressive elements of society to drop all lesser enterprises, and combine in one determined assault upon that vice which is to-day the heaviest clog upon progress, and the deepest disgrace of the nineteenth century."—*New York Tribune.*

Give to the winds thy fears;
Hope, and be undismayed;
God hears thy sighs and counts thy tears;
God shall lift up thy head.
—*Battle Song of the First Crusade Band.*

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THE natural leaders in those reformatory movements of the popular mind, which have their birth in the ground-principles of religion, are the Christian ministry. . . . It is theirs to teach popular *rights* as balanced by popular *duties*. . . . If the clergy wait till the popular mind is so profoundly agitated by a great reform that it will hear no conservative admonition, it is then too late for them to be a power of control. A preacher then seems to speak because he must speak. His speaking is the spluttering of a drowning man. . . . That is not wisdom, it is not piety, it is not reverence for venerable things ; it is stagnation, it is cowardice, often it is mental indolence, sometimes it is a refined but intense selfishness, which holds a preacher fast in ancient ruts of ministration, through fear of stimulating unnatural excitements. It is better to do some things wrong than to do nothing. . . . Delay of the clergy in assuming their natural leadership of reforms often consigns them to an infidel leadership. . . . Have you never known a pastor whose ministry had the look of a stern chase? He was not only not in advance of his age, not even abreast with his age, but a little and only a little behind his age ; so near that he could always be in at a victory but never there in the fight.—PROFESSOR AUSTIN PHELPS, *Andover*.

HAS all been done that might and should have been done by the organized agencies that represent the higher life? What are doctrinal points, for example, compared to this ever-present, ever-active, insidious influence? What are sectarian differences by the side of this national curse? Can the churches fold their hands and flatter themselves that their duties are all fulfilled while the masses prefer the saloon to the pulpit, and while rum rules in politics and society? —*New York Tribune*.

A CHURCH silent on the question of temperance discredits itself as much as a church silent on the question of dishonesty.—JOSEPH COOK.

STRONG as this traffic is, there are some things stronger. The Christian Church is stronger. And when its best and purest men cease to scorn the field of politics as something common and unclean, and teach that voting is as sacred as praying ; and when all its members, believing with Sir Charles Buxton that the struggle "against the beer-house and gin-palace is but one development of the war between heaven and hell," press into that war with an energy that will not suffer men or parties to stand in their way—the traffic is doomed. But weak goodness never did and never will overcome resolute evil.—HON. ROBERT C. PITMAN, LL.D., *from "The Church and Alcohol."*

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TO

Christian Ministers and Teachers,

WHOSE DUTY AND PRIVILEGE IT IS TO BE

LEADERS

IN THOSE REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS

WHICH HAVE THEIR BIRTH IN THE PRINCIPLES OF

RELIGION,

THIS LITTLE VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED.

If to please the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God.—*George Washington, in an Address to the Constitutional Convention urging the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, when it seemed likely to be rejected in favor of one less noble but said to be more in harmony with public sentiment.*

To what good is it that the legislature should pass laws to punish crime, or that their Lordships should occupy themselves in trying to improve the morals of the people by giving them education? What could be the use of sowing a little seed here and plucking up a weed there, if these beer-shops are to be continued to sow seeds of immorality broadcast over the land, germinating the most frightful produce that ever has been allowed to grow up in a civilized country, and, I am ashamed to add, under the fostering care of Government.—*Lord Brougham*, 1839.

If any State deems the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens, and calculated to produce idleness, vice and debauchery, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating or restraining the traffic, or prohibiting it altogether if it thinks proper.—*Chief Justice Taney, U. S. Supreme Court.*

INTRODUCTION.

This little book is made up chiefly of two lectures on social problems. The first of these aims to be a compend of the temperance certainties established by the first century of the temperance reform, whose completion is to be celebrated September 20th, 1885, and through the remainder of the year.* The "Webster's Unabridged" of Centennial temperance literature is Dorchester's "Liquor Problem," to which I am much indebted; but many will wish to get the lessons of the century for a smaller expenditure of time and money, and to such this lecture is offered. It has been supplemented by important foot-notes, and also by a symposium of suggestions for the new century from the living leaders of this great reform. All the varieties of opinion that are found among these leaders in regard to the so-called "third party," and other living issues, are allowed expression in the hope that a study of these differences may lead to unity of action against a united foe, and so hasten the day when all men shall be kept from the drink, and the drink from all men.

The second lecture, on "the Problem of Great Cities," is an appropriate companion to the first, in that it shows the intimate relation of all social problems to each other and to the great political problems of the day.

The victorious party of the future will be one which deals wisely by these great reforms.

Wilbur F. Crafts.

New York, September 15th, 1885.

* The Centennial Number of the Chicago *Union Signal*, Sept. 3, 1885 (5c.), is full of material for such celebrations.

People never go right until they have tried all possible ways of going wrong.—Herbert Spencer.

Have you not heard how it has gone with many a cause before now? First, few men heed it; next, more men condemn it; lastly, all men accept it, and the cause is won.—William Morris.

Every real thought on every real subject knocks the wind out of somebody or other. As soon as his breath comes back he very probably begins to expend it in hard words. These are the best evidence a man can have that he has said something it was time to say.—Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Men dread the cholera, the yellow fever, and the small-pox, and take expensive precaution against it, while the ravages of all of them in a year do not produce the mischief that intemperance does in a month. It is worse than a plague, worse than fire or inundation, or war. Nothing but sickness, death, immorality, crime, pauperism, and a frightful waste of resources comes of it. Nothing noble is born of it. Meantime our public men are timid about it, our churches are half indifferent over it, our ministers talk about the Scriptural use of wine, our scientific men dispute about the nutritive properties of alcohol, our politicians utter wise things about personal rights and sumptuary laws, and the people are going to the devil.—J. G. Holland, 1872.

Under the accumulating influence of alcohol, the honest man turns knave, the respectable man suddenly loses principle and self-respect, the wise man is utterly foolish, the rigidly moral man takes a plunge into libertinism. Let us do something toward staying the huge mischief, which, one way or another, confounds us all, and may—for we cannot be sure—crush and ruin us all.—*London Times.*

No government can set aside this subject. Despotic Russia and Republican America must both meet it; for the evil is too enormous and atrocious to be hid, too destructive and cyclonic to be regulated, too insolent to be endured, too cruel not to excite indignation. It is true that the capital and influence invested in its defence are enormous and potent, but God and humanity are invested against it, childhood and womanhood out of the depths lift up holy hands against it, and the "irrepressible conflict" must go on until our statesmen shall dare to assail in our halls at Washington any evil or monstrous wrong that is destructive to national welfare.—*New York Tribune.*

[Index of Authors Quoted and Persons Referred to, p. xii. Alphabetical Index of Topics, close of the book.]

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I. WHAT THE PAST PROVES IN REGARD TO THE CURSE AND CURE OF INTEMPERANCE.

PRELUDE.

VOICES AGAINST INTEMPERANCE BEFORE 1785.

AMEN-EM-AN, *Egyptian Priest,* 2000 B.C., *in letter to a pupil:* Thou knowest that wine is an abomination ; thou hast taken an oath concerning strong drink that thou wouldest not put such into thee. Hast thou forgotten thine oath ? . . . I, thy superior, forbid thee to go to the taverns. Thou art degraded like the beasts ! God regards not the breakers of pledges.—*Quoted in Lees' "Text-Book of Temperance," p.* 141.

MOSES, 1490 B.C., *in Lev.* 10 : 8–11 : And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying, Drink no wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee. Etc.

SOLOMON, 1000 B.C., *in Proverbs* 23 : 29–35 :

Who hath woe ? who hath sorrow ? who hath contentions ?
Who hath complaining ? who hath wounds without cause ?
Who hath redness of eyes ?
They that tarry long at the wine ;
They that go to seek out mixed wine.
Look not thou upon the wine when it is red,
When it giveth its color in the cup,
When it goeth down smoothly :
At the last it biteth like a serpent,
And stingeth like an adder. Etc.

HOMER, 950 (?) B.C. (*Hector's mother speaks*) :

"Stay till I bring the cup with Bacchus crowned,
Then with a plenteous draught refresh thy soul,
And draw new spirits from the generous bowl."
"Far hence be Bacchus' gifts," Hector rejoined.
"Inflaming wine, pernicious to mankind,
Unnerves the limbs and dulls the noble mind :
Let chiefs abstain—and spare the sacred juice
To sprinkle to the gods—'tis fitter use."

ISAIAH, 760 B.C., *in* 5 : 22–24 : Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink : which justify the wicked for a reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him ! Etc.

HABAKKUK, 626 B.C., *in* 2 : 15–17 : Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that addest thy venom *thereto*, and makest him drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness ! Etc.

ANACHARSIS, THE SCYTHIAN, 500 B.C. : Wine bringeth forth three grapes, the first of pleasure, the second of drunkenness, and the third of sorrow.

BUDDHA, 500 (?) B.C., *in Fifth Pentalogue:* Drink not liquors that intoxicate and disturb the reason.

CHINESE AUTHOR OF "SHE-KING," 450 (?) B.C.:

Thus to the tyrant Shen, our King, Wan said :
"Alas ! alas ! Yin's king so great,
Not Heaven but spirits flush your face with red,
That evil thus you imitate.
You do in all your conduct what is wrong,
Darkness to you the same as light,
Your noisy feasts and revels you prolong,
And day through you is black as night."
—*Quoted by Dorchester, p.* 17.

PAUL, 58 A.D., *in Rom.* 14 : 21 : It is good not to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor to do anything whereby thy brother stumbleth.

PLINY, THE ELDER, 79 A.D. : In the course of life there is nothing about which we put ourselves to more trouble than wine, as if nature had not given to us the most salubrious drink, with which all other animals are satisfied. . . . And from so much pain, so much labor, so much expense, it is evident that it changes the mind of man, and causes fury and rage, casting headlong the wretches given to it into a thousand crimes and vices ; its fascination being so great that the multitude can see no other object worth living for.

PLUTARCH, 100 (?) A.D.: There is never the body of a man, how strong and stout soever, if it be troubled and inflamed, but will take more harm and offence by wine being poured into it. Many there be, who

oft have recourse to wine, when, I think, they had more need to run to the water—namely, when overheated with the sun, or frozen and frigid with the cold, or when overstrained with speaking, or exhausted with study and reading of books, and generally when weary with violent exercise and long travel. Then, indeed, they fancy that they ought to drink wine, as if nature herself called for such treating —but in truth she desires no good to be done to her in this wise. Such persons should be totally debarred of wine, or else enjoined to drink it well allayed with water.

AUGUSTINE (*d.* 430 A.D.) : Drunkenness is a flattering devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin, which whosoever hath, hath not himself ; which whosoever doth commit committeth not a single sin, but becomes the centre and the slave of all manner of sin.

MOHAMMED (*d.* 632 A.D.), *in Koran* 5 : 7 : Surely wine and lots are an abomination, a snare of Satan, therefore avoid them.

AUTHOR OF THE EDDAS, 1050 (?) A.D. :

No worse companion can a man take on his journey—
Than drunkenness.
Not as good as many believe
Is beer to the sons of men.
The more one drinks, the less he knows,
And less power has he over himself.

LUTHER, 1522 : Where will we find a sermon strong enough to restrain us in our scandalous, hoggish life, and to rescue us from this Drink Devil?—*From a Sermon on* 1 *Pet.* 4 : 7, *published in The Voice, Aug.* 20*th*, 1885.

SHAKESPEARE (*d.* 1616), *in Othello.* Oh, thou invisible spirit of wine, if thou hast no name to be known by, let us call thee—devil.

LORD BACON (*d.* 1626) : All the crimes on earth do not destroy so many of the human race, nor alienate so much property as intemperance.

MILTON (*d.* 1674) : What more foul sin among us than drunkenness ; and who can be ignorant that if the importation of wine and the use of all strong drink were forbid, it would be both clean rid the possi-

bility of committing that odious vice, and men might afterward live happily and healthfully without the use of those intoxicating liquors.

> Some by violent stroke shall die,
> By fire, flood, famine ; by intemperance more.

PRIOR (*d.* 1721) :

> Memory confused, and interrupted thought,
> Death's harbingers, lie latent in the draught ;
> And in the flowers that wreath the sparkling bowl,
> Fell adders hiss, and poisonous serpents roll.

KANT (*b.* 1724) : Beer is very injurious to health and destructive of life.

YOUNG, *in "Night Thoughts,"* 1742 :

> In our world Death deputes
> Intemperance to do the work of Age ;
> And, hanging up the quiver Nature gave him,
> As slow of execution, for dispatch,
> Sends forth his licensed butchers ; bids them slay
> Their sheep (the silly sheep they fleeced before),
> And toss him twice ten thousand at a meal.
> . . . O what a heap of slain
> Cry out for vengeance on us !

CHESTERFIELD, *in Speech against the Gin Act,* 1743 : Vice, my lords, is not properly to be taxed, but to be suppressed. . . . Luxury, my lords, may very properly be taxed. But the use of these things which are simply hurtful—hurtful in their own nature, and in every degree—is to be prohibited. If their liquors are so delicious that the people are tempted to their own destruction, let us at length, my lords, secure them from these fatal draughts by bursting the vials that contain them. Let us check these artists in human slaughter, which have reconciled their countrymen to sickness and to ruin, and spread over the pitfalls of debauchery such baits as cannot be resisted. When I consider, my lords, the tendency of this bill, I find it calculated only for the propagation of disease, the suppression of industry, and the destruction of mankind. For the purpose, my lords, what could have been invented more efficacious than shops at which poison may be vended, poison so prepared as to please the palate, while it wastes the strength and kills only by intoxication ?

Rowland Hill (*b.* 1744) : Public-houses, the bane of the country, excite the strongest indignation in my mind.

Fielding (*d.* 1754) : Wine and youth are fire upon fire.

John Wesley, 1760 : All who sell liquors in the common way, to any that will buy, are poisoners in general. They murder His Majesty's subjects by wholesale ; neither does their eye pity or spare. They drive them to Hell like sheep. And what is their gain ? Is it not the blood of these men ? Who, then, would envy their large estates and sumptuous palaces ? A curse is in the midst of them. The curse of God is in their gardens, their groves—a fire that burns to the nethermost Hell. Blood, blood is there ! The foundation, the floors, the walls, the reof, are stained with blood.

John Adams, 1761 : Like so many boxes of Pandora, dram-shops are hourly scattering, plagues of every kind—natural, moral, and political. The worst effect of all, and which ought to make every man, who has the least sense of his privileges, tremble, these houses are become in many places the nurseries of our legislators. . . . I think it would be well worth the attention of our Legislature to confine the number and retrieve the character of licensed houses, lest that impiety and profaneness, that abandoned intemperance and prodigality, that impudence and brawling temper, which these abominable nurseries daily propagate, should arrive at last to a degree of strength that even the Legislature will not be able to control.

Oliver Goldsmith (*d.* 1774) : In all the towns and countries I have seen, I never saw a city or a village yet, whose miseries were not in proportion to the number of its public-houses. . . . Ale-houses are ever an occasion of debauchery and excess, and either in a political or religious light, it would be our highest interest to have them suppressed.

Cowper, *in* "*The Task,*" *published* 1785 :

Ten thousand casks,
For ever dribbling out their base contents,
Touched by the Midas finger of the State,
Bleed gold for ministers to sport away.
Drink and be mad, then ; 'tis your country bids !
Gloriously drunk obey th' important call !
The cause demands the assistance of your throats ;
Ye all can swallow, and she asks no more.

WHAT A CENTURY OF TEMPERANCE CONFLICT HAS MADE CERTAIN IN REGARD TO THE CURSE AND CURE OF INTEMPERANCE.

In 1883, Americans celebrated at Newburgh the concluding Centennial of the Revolution. In 1885, we celebrate the Centennial of the beginning of another war for independence, whose end is not yet—the conflict with intemperance, which must be conquered if we would not have our favored nation held down by a despotism worse than our fathers escaped.

The leader in this second war for independence was one of the leaders in the first. Dr. Benjamin Rush, whose series of papers on "The Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Mind and Body," * published in 1785, and the two years following, are the head-waters of the modern temperance movement, was also the first of our fathers to move a resolution in favor of national independence, which he did as a member of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania, in 1774; and in 1776, in the Continental Congress, he was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Independence. Thus he began the two wars—against King George and King Alcohol.

The Declaration of Independence, for which he was first to move, closes with these words: "For the support of this Declaration, and in a firm reliance on the

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* This essay is published in full in "Temperance Pioneers," 25 cts., National Temperance Society, New York.

protection of Divine Providence, we mutually *pledge* to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." As the Declaration of Independence, which Dr. Rush supported, was a "pledge," so the temperance pledge, for which he prepared the way, is *a declaration of independence* against unhealthy and foolish fashions.

The despotism of drinking customs can be broken only by such devotion of lives, of fortunes, and of sacred honor as secured our political independence. Father Taylor, the sailor preacher, speaking at a temperance gathering in Charleston, Mass., in the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument, said: "Your poor-houses are full, and your courts and prisons are filled with victims of this infernal traffic, and your houses are full of sorrow, and the hearts of your wives and mothers; and yet the system is tolerated. Yes! and when we ask some men what is to be done about it, they tell you, you can't stop it! and yet there is Bunker Hill! and you say you can't stop it—and up yonder is Lexington and Concord, where your fathers fought for the right and bled and died—and you look on those monuments and boast of the heroism of your fathers, and then tell us we must submit to be taxed and tortured by the rum business, and we can't stop it! No! and yet your fathers—your patriotic fathers—could make a cup of tea for his Britannic Majesty out of a whole cargo—and you can't cork up a gin-jug! Ha!"

In this temperance war for independence it was Dr. Rush who fired the opening "shots heard 'round the world" in the series of scientific articles to which we have referred.

As there were protests against tyranny before the Declaration of Independence formally opened the war against it, so before Dr. Rush began the irrepressible

conflict with Alcohol, there were protests against its evil work not only from the foreigners already quoted, but also from John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Israel Putnam, and other Americans. There was even one earnest resolution passed by the Continental Congress in 1774, "recommending to the several legislatures of the States to pass laws the most effectual for putting an immediate stop to the pernicious practice of distilling grain, by which the most extensive evils are likely to be derived if not quickly prevented." The Society of Friends, in their yearly meeting for New England in 1784, incorporated into their discipline a special clause against the use of ardent spirits; and the Methodist Episcopal Church, which has recently celebrated its Centennial, adopted that same year, at its organization, the rule which its members had been following for forty years as Wesleyans under English supervision, prohibiting to all their members, "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity." Thus Methodism became the first modern "Church Temperance Society." * Dr. Rush was doubtless influenced to investigate the evil effects of alcohol by his intercourse with Methodist itinerants, whom he often entertained, and by his Quaker training.

But all these preceding influences were only like the work of those "reformers before the Reformation"—Savonarola and Huss, whose martyr fires were the first streaks of the Reformation morning, and Wiclif, "the morning star of the Reformation," the five hundredth anniversary of whose death came to us last year, with the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth.

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* Buddhism and Mohammedanism each prohibited intoxicating drinks from the first, as has been shown already.

Though the long list of persons quoted in the prelude and many others recognized the evils of intemperance before 1785, nevertheless Dr. Rush became the Luther of the temperance reformation when in that year he nailed up his scientific theses against Pope Alcohol.

Dr. Rush's protest, like Luther's, was incomplete. He condemned only *distilled* spirits, and saw no more harm in wine and other *fermented* liquors than Luther in consubstantiation ; but it took such a courage as was shown by Luther at the Diet of Worms, for Dr. Rush to stand up as a reputed fanatic before his fellow-scientists and all the learned and unlearned of his day, proclaiming that what nearly all of them thought a good creature of God was only a devil in disguise.

In five years, however, he had convinced his associates in the Philadelphia College of Physicians that the habitual use of distilled spirits is unnecessary, and they took the first action of any scientific or medical society against these beverages by sending a memorial to Congress, calling attention to "the pernicious effects of distilled liquors upon morals and manners, and their influence in producing a great portion of the most obstinate, painful, and mortal diseases which afflict the human body, and also in impairing the faculties of the mind, and thereby tending to dishonor the nation and degrade the race," for which reasons they desired "Congress to impose such heavy duties upon all distilled spirits as shall be effectual to restrain their intemperate use in the country."

One year before this, 1789, the first voluntary association of individuals pledged to abstain from strong drink was formed by farmers in Litchfield, Conn., and this was also the first organization to use a temperance pledge, which, however, excluded only distilled liquors. No other society down to 1826 even required so much as

this in its pledge; all that was "discountenanced" being a "too free use of ardent spirits."

The most effective re-enforcement of Dr. Rush's efforts at the opening of the temperance revolution was the action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1811, which action was due to a speech by Dr. Rush and the distribution in the Assembly of a thousand copies of his essay. The Assembly's Report on the State of Religion contained the following lament: "We are ashamed but constrained to say that we have heard of the sin of drunkenness prevailing—prevailing to a great degree—prevailing even among some of the visible members of the household of faith. What a reflection on the Christian character is this, that they who profess to be bought with a price, and thus redeemed from iniquity, should debase themselves, by the gratification of an appetite, to a level with the beasts that perish!"

That Assembly appointed a committee of influential men "to endeavor to devise measures which, when sanctioned by the General Assembly, may have an influence in preventing some of the numerous and threatening mischiefs which are experienced throughout our country by the excessive and intemperate use of spirituous liquors; and that this committee be authorized to correspond and act in concert with any persons who may be appointed or associated for a similar purpose, and report to the next Assembly." *

If Methodists have the glory of being the first of the denominations to enter the temperance conflict, and the

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* Subsequent deliverances of the Presbyterian Church on this subject are given in leaflet No. 6 of The Permanent Committee on Temperance, 58 Barclay Street, New York.

Friends of being second, the Presbyterians have the honor of sounding the bugle-note which rallied the yet more numerous forces of other churches to the conflict, while Congregationalism has its glory in furnishing the Barak of the battle, Dr. Lyman Beecher, who came like a thunderbolt into his God-given leadership, with his ten thousand New Englanders, the year after the Assembly had given the battle-cry.

He was roused to his temperance work by the report of the temperance committee in the General Association of Connecticut, in 1812, which admitted that intemperance had been for some time increasing in the most alarming manner, but stated that the committee did not perceive that anything could be done. Dr. Beecher, who was a member of the Association, and whose first temperance sermon, in 1808, had been suggested in part, as he tells us, by reading Dr. Rush's essay, says of this despairing report: "The blood started through my heart when I heard this, and I rose instanter, and moved that a committee of three be appointed immediately to report at this meeting the ways and means of arresting the tide of intemperance. The committee was named and appointed. I was chairman, and, on the following day, brought in a report, the most important paper that I ever wrote."

In this report, after many suggestions about Christian temperance work, he said: "And that these practical measures may not be rendered ineffectual, the Association do most earnestly entreat of their brethren in the ministry, of the members of the churches, and of the persons who lament and desire to check the progress of this evil, that they neither express nor indulge the melancholy apprehension that nothing can be done on this subject, a prediction eminently calculated to paralyze

exertion and become the disastrous cause of its own fulfilment. . . . What if some will perish after all that can be done? Shall we make no efforts to save any from destruction, because we may not be able to turn away every one from the path of ruin?"

The General Association of Congregational churches of Massachusetts, in response to the call of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, appointed a temperance committee in the same year, 1811. In July of that year, that committee began to investigate the following questions:

"The effects of intemperance upon bodily health, the mental faculties, and the length of life."

"The effect of the use of spirituous liquors upon the productive labors of the country."

"The practicability of employing laborers without allowing them the use of spirituous liquors."

"The tendency of intemperance to other vices."

"What means have been found effectual in restraining the intemperate use of spirituous liquors."

"The quantity of ardent spirits consumed in this country."

Instead of giving a chronological history of this temperance century, I propose to let the century answer these questions of 1811, and so let history become philosophy and teach the true principles of temperance by examples.

INTERLUDE.

WATCHWORDS OF THE CENTURY'S DEPARTED BRITISH LEADERS.

FATHER MATHEW, 1845: Let no man say that he is safe enough, that he has no occasion to take the pledge. I have seen the stars of the heavens fall, and the cedars of Lebanon laid low. The pledge which I ask you and others to take does not enslave; it makes free. Temperance brings blessings in both hands: blessings for time and blessings for eternity.

SIDNEY SMITH (*d.* 1845): If you wish to keep the mind clear and the body healthy, abstain from all fermented liquors.

I find I have been very ill all my life, without knowing it. Let me state some of the good arising from abstaining from all fermented liquors. First, sweet sleep, having never known what such sleep was; I sleep like a baby or a plough-boy. If I wake, no needless terrors, no black visions of life, but pleasing hopes and pleasing recollections: Holland House past and to come! If I dream, it is not of lions and tigers, but of Easter-dues and tithes. Secondly, I can take longer walks, and make greater exertions, without fatigue. My understanding is improved and I comprehend political economy. I see better without wine and spectacles than when I used both. Only one evil ensues from it: I am in such extravagant spirits that I must lose blood, or look out for some one who will bore and distress me. Pray, leave off wine—the stomach quite at rest; no heart-burn, no pain, no distension.—*Letter to Lady Holland, quoted in "Four Pillars of Temperance," p.* 89.

CHALMERS (*d.* 1847): Before God and man, before the Church and the world, I impeach intemperance. I charge it as the cause, whatever may be the source elsewhere, of almost all the poverty, and almost all the crime, and almost all the misery, and almost all the ignorance, and almost all the irreligion that disgrace and afflict mankind.

GUTHRIE (*d.* 1873): I have tried both ways; I speak from experience. I am in good spirits because I take no spirits; I am hale because I use no ale; I take no antidote in the form of drugs because I take no poison in the form of drinks. Thus, though in the first instance I sought only the public good, I have found my own also since I became a total abstainer. I have these four reasons for continuing to be one: 1st, my health is stronger; 2d, my head is clearer; 3d, my heart is lighter; 4th, my purse is heavier.

ARNOT: The public-house and the private-house cannot both thrive. The earnings of workingmen are not sufficient both to supply the wants of their own homes, and support an army of lazy landlords and well-fed landladies. One must go to the wall.

WHAT THE TEMPERANCE CENTURY HAS MADE CERTAIN IN REGARD TO THE CURSE OF INTEMPERANCE.

First: What has the century made certain as to

"THE EFFECTS OF INTEMPERANCE UPON BODILY HEALTH"?

A hundred years ago, it was almost universally believed that drinking wine or whiskey was literally "drinking health." Much more recently the first Life Insurance Company that made a special section for total abstainers, came into being because a total abstainer was refused a policy by one of the old companies on the ground that his life-chances were decreased by his abstinence from alcoholics. But every intelligent person has learned, long since, by the investigations of the century, what the International Medical Congress said officially in 1876:

"1. Alcohol is not shown to have a definite food value by any of the usual methods of chemical analysis or physiological investigation.

"2. Its use as a medicine is chiefly that of a cardiac stimulant, and often admits of substitution.

"3. As a medicine, it is not well-fitted for self-prescription by the laity, and the medical profession is not accountable for such administration, or for the enormous evils arising therefrom.

"4. The purity of alcoholic liquors is in general not so well assured as that of articles used for medicine should be. The various mixtures, when used as medi-

cine, should have definite and known composition, and should not be interchanged promiscuously."

As this utterance of the medical fraternity indicates, health is endangered by the use of alcoholic drinks, partly because they are now almost universally adulterated. The prohibition of American pork by Germany has brought out, in connection with the suggestion of retaliatory legislation, even in papers that are strongly in favor of the liquor traffic, such statements as the following by the New York *Herald*, in its German correspondence: "The German wine exported to America is for the most part adulterated or manufactured, and is doubtless injurious to life." An American consul has recently given the same testimony in regard to the wines of France.

The last report of the Paris Municipal Laboratory, under whose chemical scrutiny the wines of the city must pass, states that the number of good wines found in an analysis of 3361 samples was only 367.

A reliable Christian man of my acquaintance, who is in the wholesale drug business in New York, recently told me that he did not know where he could get five gallons of pure brandy in the city of New York.

Major C. B. Cotten, now Vice-President of the American Temperance Union, but formerly a manufacturer of liquor for twenty-five years, said recently, as reported in the New York *Tribune:* "A man stands about as good a chance of being struck by lightning as of getting a pure article of brandy in New York." He said also, "Thirty-two deadly poisons are used in the manufacture of wine." Lager beer can no longer be considered "too cheap to adulterate," for the brewers of New York State, in 1885, defeated the bill, introduced by the moderate drinkers, requiring them to

enumerate on their labels the ingredients of their beer and ale.

But the Medical Congress, in the statements we have quoted, take pains to show that adulteration is not the only or chief peril in the use of alcoholic drinks. The main part of their report is suggestive of the boy who was smoking a two-cent cigar, and becoming very pale, threw it away, saying to his playmate: "There's something in that cigar that makes me sick." "I know what it is," said the other, "it's *terbakker*."

"Alcohol is only one of the seven devils in beer," but it is the Satan of them all. Willard Parker, voicing the verdict of medical science, pronounced alcohol "an irritant poison having no place in a healthy system." The only reason the Medical Congress give for noting the adulteration of liquors is to show that it is dangerous to use alcoholics even as medicines because it is next to impossible to get them pure. But even in their mildest and purest forms, alcoholics are now known to be unhealthy, not only when used to intoxication, but also when used in moderation.* The Toledo *Blade* recently

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* Dr. Benjamin Rush, in his celebrated essay of a hundred years ago, said: "Ardent spirits often bring on fatal diseases without producing drunkenness. I have known many persons destroyed by them who were never completely intoxicated in the whole course of their lives. The solitary instances of longevity which are now and then met with in hard drinkers, no more disprove the deadly effects of ardent spirits than the solitary instances of recoveries from apparent death by drowning prove that there is no danger to life from a human body lying an hour or two under water." Dr. Anstie, one of the greatest of the physicians of our own day, says: "Many drinkers who were never drunk have yet transmitted very unstable nervous systems to their children."

The London *Lancet* (December, 1884) says: "Alongside of all the teetotalism that exists, there is an appalling amount of tippling that

interviewed leading physicians of that city in regard to the effect of that mildest of all intoxicating drinks, lager beer, upon the health. In every case the testimony (now published by the National Temperance Society in a pamphlet) is strongly condemnatory of "the favorite beverage," as producing diseases of the liver and kidneys especially, and in all cases lowering the vital forces to such a point that disease has little to do in sweeping its beer-drinking victims out of the world. One physician says that in his own practice and observation, forty-nine out of fifty cases of Bright's disease of the kidneys are cases of beer-drinkers. The editor, well known by his *nom de plume* as "Nasby," sums up the testimonies of these medical men in the following editorial utterance: "The indictment they with one accord present against beer-drinking is simply terrible. It is a curse for which there is no mitigation. The fearful devil-fish crushing a fisherman in its long, winding arms, and sucking his life-blood from his mangled body and limbs, is not so frightful an assailant as this deadly but insidious enemy, which fastens itself upon its victim, and daily becomes more and more the wretched man's master, clogging up his liver, rotting

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does not distinctly intoxicate, but saturates the principal organs and destroys them more quickly than would an occasional debauch. . . . Sir William Gull has said that it is one of the commonest things in our society for people to be injured by drink without being drunkards. The injury occurs and goes on so quietly that it is very difficult to observe its access or its progress."

Sir Henry Thomson, F.R.S., says: "I have no hesitation in attributing a very large proportion of some of the most painful and dangerous maladies which come under my notice, as well as those which every medical man has to treat, to the ordinary and daily use of fermented drinks taken in the quantity which is conventionally deemed moderate."

his kidneys, decaying his heart and arteries, stupefying and starving his brain, choking his lungs and bronchia, loading his body down with dropsical fluids and unwholesome fat, fastening upon him rheumatism, erysipelas, and all manner of painful and disgusting diseases, and finally dragging him down to the grave at a time when other men are in their prime of mental and bodily vigor. . . . Every one of them bears testimony to the fact that no man can drink beer safely, that it is an injury to any one who uses it in any quantity, and that its effect upon the general health of the country has been even worse than that of whiskey."

A century of temperance work, then, closes with the main body of the medical fraternity agreed that alcoholic beverages of every kind ought to be entirely shunned by persons in health, and used only with the greatest caution, if at all, by the sick.*

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* Dr. W. B. Carpenter, in the *British and Foreign Medical Review*, says : " Nothing in the annals of quackery can be more truly empirical than the mode in which fermented liquors are directed or permitted to be taken by a large proportion of medical practitioners." Dr. B. W. Richardson, F.R.S., known to all physicians as one of the most eminent of London physicians, in an article on " The Prescription for Alcohol in Disease," in the *Asclepiad* (republished as a four-page leaflet by the National Temperance Society), says : " In common fairness to scientific progress, the professors of healing ought so to prescribe alcohol that nothing shall be wanting in accuracy of prescription. The exact quantity, the exact quality, the exact purity of the alcohol ought to be known, and due provision made to insure what is right in respect to quantity, quality, and purity. To prescribe wine without knowing whether the specimen of wine contains ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent of alcohol ; to prescribe spirits without knowing the percentage of alcohol, or whether all the alcohol in the spirit is ethylic alcohol or a mixture of alcohols ; to prescribe either wines, spirits, or ales without asking whether other chemical bodies than alcohol are or are not present in them, is not prescrib-

The van of the medical fraternity at the close of the century are already under the banner of the absolute disuse of alcohol even as a medicine or in the arts.* The London Temperance Hospital, which cures as large a percentage of patients *without* alcoholics as other hospitals, treating similar cases, *with* them, will cease to be an exception in the new century, which will emancipate Christian lands, at least, from alcohol in all its forms, as the last century has swept away human slavery.

Second: What has the century made certain as to

"THE EFFECTS OF INTEMPERANCE ON THE MENTAL FACULTIES"?

One half of the insane, according to Drs. Pritchard and Esquirol, were first "crazy on purpose" with alcoholics. Lunacy is mostly "saloonacy." It is never the moon, but often the saloon by which the reason is dethroned. One half of the idiots, according to Drs. S. G. Howe and Willard Parker, are the children of those who have made fools of themselves with drink. A well-dressed woman, who had been arrested for drunkenness,

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ing at all. Any old woman, or any quack, can prescribe in that madcap way. It is the duty of the physician to order, in fact, the absolute remedy, to define the dose, and to direct the time of administration with the same care as if he were prescribing opium, chloral, or other active remedy. In prescribing he has before him a precise therapeutical intention, and he must be precise in prescribing if he would insure the fulfilment of his intention.

"If this view of the position spoken of were fairly taken, all difficulties between the prescriber and the public would soon cease. I have myself followed this plan for ten years past with the utmost facility of action. When I want to administer alcohol, I write it in the prescription as absolute alcohol—Sp. Gr. 0·795—and I have it mixed with water to make it easy and ready for administration."

* See "Nichols" in alphabetical index.

on being arraigned the next morning, said to the judge: "I was drunk. I make a fool of myself whenever I am in that condition." She made herself a fool, not while in that condition, but when, being sober, she drank what made her drunk.

Third: What has the temperance century made certain as to

"THE EFFECT OF INTEMPERANCE UPON THE LENGTH OF LIFE"?

It has been proved beyond all question, that alcohol is one of the chief sources of suicide, especially when taken in lager beer. The Chicago *Staats-Zeitung* admits that beer-drinking Germans are "twice as well represented among the suicides as any other people." The last census shows that in the city of Milwaukee, where more beer is brewed and drank than in any other city of equal size, the number of suicides is twice as large as in any city of equal population. In New York City, as shown by a table in *The Voice* of February 12th, 1885, the rate of suicides among Germans is eight times as great as among Americans, and almost five times as great as among the Irish. "A man drunk with whiskey wants to kill somebody else; a man drunk with beer wants to kill himself."

That the use of alcoholic liquors shortens life has been mathematically demonstrated by the United Kingdom Temperance and General Providence Institution. This life assurance association was established in 1842, and has two distinct sections, one for abstainers and the other for non-abstainers, thus supplying an admirable test of the effects of abstinence on longevity. This institution has issued about 100,000 policies, and has a capital of well-nigh £3,000,000, affording ample data for

comparisons. *The average length of life in the non-abstaining section has been much shorter than in the abstaining section;* and, in the division of profits, every five years, the members of the abstaining section receive from fifteen to fifty-two per cent more bonus than the members of the non-abstaining section.

The Sceptre Life Assurance Association, another English company on the "double basis" of total abstainers and moderate drinkers, has recently made up the quinquennial statement of losses in both sections, by which it is seen that for the five years past the number of expected deaths in the total abstinence section—153—has been cut down to fifty-three, the one hundred "appointed for death" having "persisted in living." *

The century writes of total abstinence, "*Length of days* is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor."

Fourth: What has the temperance century made certain as to

THE RELATIONS OF ALCOHOLICS TO LABOR AND POVERTY?

The century's investigations have made trite the fact that "ninety per cent of the pauperism for which taxpayers have to pay is caused by the liquor traffic." Intemperance, indeed, has almost a monopoly in the production of poverty. Most of those who are now in the

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* The *Medical Record*, of New York, publishes the following: "A WARNING TO DRINKERS.—*Le Journal d'Hygiene* publishes a comparative table of the probabilities of life for moderate drinkers and total abstainers. According to this, a moderate drinker at twenty years of age may expect to live 15.6 years; at thirty, 13; at forty, 11.6; at fifty, 10.8; at sixty, 8.9. The probability for total abstainers is, at twenty years, 44.2; at thirty, 36.5; at forty, 28.8; at fifty, 21.25; and at sixty, 15.285.

poor-house, or in city cellars, if they had put in a bank what they have invested in beer and brandy, might now have a house of their own. A London gentleman recently offered a guinea each to destitute families who were, and always had been, total abstainers. Only nineteen applications were received from all England, and but six of these were able to conform to the conditions.

A drinking man told his family one morning of a strange dream he had had the previous night. In it he saw three cats, a fat one, a lean one, and a blind one, and he was anxious to know what it all meant. His boy answered quickly: "I can tell what it means. The fat cat is the landlady who sells you the drink, and the lean cat is mother and me, and the blind cat is yourself."

"Some time since an account appeared in the newspapers of a house near the sea-coast in California, built entirely of the fragments of wrecked vessels. The whole edifice was a combination of bulkheads and bulwarks, of lockers and cabins. It is boarded with planks ripped off from the ship's side by the savage violence of wind and breaker. The ceilings are decorated with the linings of sumptuous steamer cabins. The kitchen is the galley of a wrecked merchantman.

"But in one of our far inland towns there is a beautiful house. The grounds around whisper of paradise. Lawns, trees, flowers of many a choice variety, beautify the scene. The edifice itself is built after the richest style of modern domestic architecture. The doors are massive walnut with hinges of silver. There are winding stairs with ample landing-places fenced with a heavy balustrade. There are frescoed ceilings, and carpets that yield like down to the pressure of the foot. There are means of illumination that turn night into day. The proprietor lies upon a bed of ivory and stretches himself

upon his couch; eats the lambs out of the flock and the calves out of the midst of the stalls; drinks wine in bowls, and anoints himself with the chief ointments. And this house is built of wrecks. Every board and every brick, every stone and every timber, every piece of furniture, and every appliance of comfort, the carpets on the floor, the frescoes on the ceiling, are each in whole or in part the fragments of a wreck—a wreck, not of a ship, but of a home, a life, a soul! The owner of this mansion is the owner also and keeper of a drinking-saloon.

"In another street not far away there is a house that was once the embodiment of thrift, neatness, and domestic joy. The house has become a wreck. Old hats and clothes now occupy many a place once filled with window-panes. Without all looks like desolation, and within all is misery and destitution. The woman is wearing her life away to support the children, while the father is a lounger about that drinking-saloon. All that was beautiful in that home has gone into the gorgeous mansion of the saloon-keeper. The wreck of this home has been built into that palace. . . .

"Have not the sighs, sobs, groans of women, broken-bodied as well as broken-hearted, the ravings, the blasphemies and cries of despair of ruined men gone into the very walls of that mansion? And in the dark, lonesome nights, when the winds are sighing around it, may not these come out again and pour themselves into the ear of the sleeper on the couch? Sooner or later all these moans and groans, and these sobs and cries will descend in one awful chorus upon the ears of the builder of that home!

"No; I should not like to live in a house built of wrecks, whether of ships or of homes and souls." *

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* Rev. W. P. Breed, D.D., in *Episcopal Recorder.*

The century has proved that those who devote their earnings largely to beer, with the idea that it affords them food and strength, are "spending their money for that which is not bread, and their labor for that which satisfieth not," which is one of the chief causes why so many of the poor remain poor, and even grow poorer in this prosperous land. Liebig, the great German chemist, says that "if a man will drink eight or ten glasses of beer daily for twelve months, he will take only as much nourishment as he would get in a five-pound loaf of bread." Drinking beer for nourishment is shown in an illustrated lecture, by Rev. J. S. Ostrander, of Brooklyn, to be equivalent to buying flour at $125 per barrel. The nourishment of a five-cent glass of beer is only one sixteenth as much as that of a five-cent loaf.

As to wine, Dr. Richardson has recently shown that sixteen seventeenths of an average wine-glass can be evaporated as water, so that in the finest "wines" (so-called) one pays $27.50 for a pint and a half of spirits and drugs.

The nourishment in alcoholics is about as hard to discover as the warmth of the moon, which is found by delicate instruments to be one twelfth of that of an ordinary candle twelve feet away.

Fifth: What has the century of temperance investigations and experiments made certain as to

"THE TENDENCY OF INTEMPERANCE TO OTHER VICES"?

"No one who has reflected much on the conduct of life can fail to observe that all vices are more or less related to each other, that they are all rooted in a general corruption of the moral principle, so that the full surrender to any one temptation weakens and taints the entire nature." *

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* *The Christian Advocate.*

It is now thoroughly established that alcohol furnishes a majority of the inmates of the hospitals, idiot asylums, insane retreats, poor-houses, foundling asylums, brothels, and prisons. At the late annual meeting of the Philanthropic Union of the Society of Friends, William C. Starr, of Indiana, is reported as saying: "In Indiana we have in nineteen counties 1132 saloons, and in nine counties we have no saloons. In the nineteen counties there is one prisoner for every seventy-two voters, in the nine counties one for every seven hundred and twenty voters—being ten times as many where liquor is sold." *

A police justice recently said to me: "Out of seven years' experience on the bench, I am convinced that rum is the root of all evil. For every case of assault and battery, every rape and every murder, the stereotyped excuse is, 'I was drunk.'" This is the reason that the law of Kansas labels all saloons, "common nuisances."

Ninety per cent of the business of the criminal courts, according to Chief-Justice Noah Davis, of New York, and many other authorities, is caused by the liquor traffic.

"Who hath woe? who hath contentions? who hath wounds without cause? They that tarry long at the wine." Those ancient words would to-day be appropriate head-lines for the criminal columns of every daily paper. Recently, at Chicago, a father became angered

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* Some years ago a striking comparison was made between Vineland, N. J., and New Britain, Conn., which probably still holds good. They each had about 11,000 inhabitants. New Britain had 80 saloons; Vineland had none. New Britain paid $8500 for the care of paupers; Vineland, $224. New Britain paid for police, $7500; Vineland, $75.—*Christian Advocate.*

because his drunken sleep was disturbed by the moans of his sick child. He sprang from his bed and catching up the child choked it until the blood spurted from its little nose, eyes and ears, after which he dashed it, stunned and almost lifeless, upon the floor. No wonder the judge, in condemning him, expressed his sorrow that there was no whipping-post to which he might be condemned. Such homes, transformed into hells by intoxicating drinks, are all about us, many of them among the rich, some of them even among church-goers.

In a small Michigan town there lived a German, kind and industrious except when under the influence of drink, at which times he was the terror of his wife and children. He came home in this condition one night to find his little daughter of nine years in the burning heat of scarlet fever, and to turn all out of doors. The pleadings of the heart-sick mother and the sympathizing children were of no avail. "I'll take care of 'er; I'll cool 'er off," was his brutal threat, and suiting action to word, he seized a pail of cold water fresh from the well, stripped off the blankets, and dashed the water over the sick child, who was thrown into convulsions at once. The agonized mother strove with him still, but still he raved, "I'll bring 'er out of this," and taking up a bottle of camphor setting near the bedside, threw a handful of the burning liquid upon the little face so dear to him when whiskey was not his indwelling fiend. The poor child gasped once—twice—and God in His mercy took her to His arms. An indignant community tried to administer justice, but he compelled his terror-stricken family to testify falsely, and so another murderer is free. The true fatherly heart trembles with honest anger at such savagery, but *fathers* legalized the saloon where this father was crazed. Will not the blood of this little

one cry out against them also, and be required at their hands?

The century has so completely exposed the crime-breeding tendencies of the liquor traffic, that those who now continue in the business, after its evil results have been so thoroughly shown, are mostly criminals or the abettors of criminals. By a thorough canvass in Philadelphia, it was found that out of its 8034 saloons, 3782 were connected with houses of ill-fame, and that more than two thirds of the dealers have been inmates of prisons and station-houses. It is doubtful if the other one third have not violated the laws and made themselves liable to fine or imprisonment, for liquor-dealers make no pretence of obeying the laws. Indeed, when a saloon-keeper in Ohio advertised that his saloon would refuse liquor to drunkards and children, in accordance with the law, the remarkable and exceptional fact was telegraphed all over the country, under the heading, "A Conscientious Saloon-Keeper," an unconscious recognition by the Associated Press—which has no special prejudices in favor of temperance—that the liquor trade habitually violate these and other laws.

Rum is the "pal" of robbers, not only in furnishing them rendezvous and stimulus, but also in giving them an example of robbery, by extorting from the people, under false pretences of giving them food and strength, as much money every year as it would take to supply every family in the country with fifteen barrels of flour. "The money paid for liquors during the past one hundred years of our history," says Miss Willard, "would build and equip six lines of railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific; endow a university at $10,000,000 in every State; erect a $5000 school-house for every two hundred inhabitants; build a $25,000 meeting-house for every

2000 inhabitants; pay the national debt; and with the rest of the money at interest, support a teacher for every one hundred inhabitants of the country.'' *

"The saloon is a murder-mill." A Western woman was arrested for saying this of a specific saloon, but proved her statement to the jury by showing that more than one murder had been committed by persons crazed with its liquor. Ruskin has tersely said: "Liquor-selling is one of the most criminal methods of assassination for money ever adopted by the bravoes of any age or country." When we remember how many promising sons and husbands are impoverished, poisoned, disgraced, and hurried to a premature death by the deceptions of the liquor traffic, we agree with the *Episcopal Recorder* that "Liquor-sellers, if they pause to think, will hardly advocate absolute personal liberty, for if it were declared

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* The New York *Herald* says that the adoption and enforcement of national Prohibition would destroy two hundred millions of property. Curiously enough this happens to be the very sum which the New York *Tribune* shows to be the annual loss to the country, because "one in twenty of the inhabitants of the United States are rendered idle and incapacitated for work through the liquor traffic." To this should be added, however, the cost of worse than useless drinks from The Nation's Annual Bill, which is given, with suggestive contrasts, by the Philadelphia *Press* in the following table:

——————————————Liquor, $850,000,000.
——————————————Tobacco, $600,000,000.
——————————————Bread, $505,000,000.
——————————————Meat, $303,000,000.
——————————————Iron and steel, $290,000,000.
——————————————Woolen goods, $237,000,000.
——————————————Sawed lumber, $233,000,000.
——————————————Cotton goods, $210,000,000.
——————————————Boots and shoes, $196,000,000.
——————————————Sugar and molasses, $155,000,000.
——————————————Public education, $85,000,000.
——————————————Christian missions, home and foreign, $5,500,000.

that every father whose son is being ruined, and every wife whose husband is being destroyed by drink were to have liberty to right their own wrongs, there would be the biggest gunning expedition that ever was seen."

Goldwin Smith reminds us that these "murder mills" threaten more than individual lives. He says: "It is too clear that the rapid extension of this system of saloon-drinking is threatening the very life of the community; that it is producing a physical and moral pestilence more deadly in the deepest sense than any other plague which stalks the infected cities of the East; that it is bringing great masses of our working classes to a self-imposed bondage, more complete and more degrading than slavery itself; that it is undoing for the people; that it is not only filling the present with unspeakable misery and vice, but blighting the prospects of labor for the future."

The New York *Tribune* of March 2d, 1884, deliberately says, in an editorial on the liquor traffic: "It is impossible to examine any subject connected with the progress, the civilization, the physical well-being, the religious condition of the masses, without encountering this monstrous evil. It lies at the centre of all political and social mischief. It paralyzes energies in every direction. It neutralizes educational agencies. It silences the voice of religion. It baffles penal reform. It obstructs political reform. . . . There is needed something of that sacred fire which kindled into inextinguishable heat the zeal of the abolitionists, and which compelled the abandonment of human slavery, to rouse the national indignation and abhorrence against this very much greater evil."

INTERLUDE.

WATCHWORDS OF THE CENTURY'S DEPARTED AMERICAN LEADERS.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (President 1801–1809): The habit of using ardent spirit by men in public office has occasioned more injury to the public service and more trouble to me than any other circumstance which has occurred in the internal concerns of the country during my administration; and were I to commence my administration again, with the knowledge which, from experience, I have acquired, the first question which I would ask with regard to every candidate for office should be, *Is he addicted to the use of ardent spirit?—Quoted in "Temperance Text-Book,"* 1836.

JUSTIN EDWARDS, D.D., 1816: It is not drunkards nor intemperate men who control this business; it is temperate men, useful men, honorable men. Let them forbear to use it, and show that it is not necessary, and the evil will die; for they shut the door through which all intemperate men and all drunkards have entered.

LYMAN BEECHER, D.D., 1826; *in second of "Sermons on Intemperance:"* Much is said about the prudent use of ardent spirits; but we might as well speak of the prudent use of the plague—of fire handed prudently around among powder—of poison taken prudently every day—or of vipers and serpents introduced prudently into our dwellings, to glide about as a matter of courtesy to visitors, and of amusement to our children. . . . It is not enough to erect the flag ahead to mark the spot where the drunkard dies. It must be planted at the entrance of his course, proclaimed in waving capitals: THIS IS THE WAY TO DEATH. Over the whole territory of "prudent use" it must wave and ward, for if we cannot stop men in the beginning we cannot separate between that and the end. He who lets strong drinks alone before they are meddled with is safe, and he only. They should be in every family a contraband article. They should be labelled as we label laudanum, and "Touch not, taste not, handle not," should meet the eye on every vessel that contains them.

DR. ASAHEL NETTLETON (about 1828), *in letter to Dr. Lyman Beecher:* I wish that all young converts would make it a point of conscience not to taste of intoxicating drink.

JOHN MARSH, D.D., 1829: We have hunted the monster through the land, and driven him into his den; and now we must stand at the very mouth of the cavern, and contend with our fellow-men and fellow-sufferers—yes, and fellow-Christians, too—who are either

afraid to attack the monster, or are determined he shall live.—*Address at Pomfret, Ct., on "Putnam and the Wolf."*

PROFESSOR MOSES STUART, D.D., *Andover*, 1830: The time is coming when those who use intoxicating liquors or traffic in them will not be able to lift up their heads in a Christian church which has any good claim to elevation and purity of character. They will be as really and truly stigmatized on account of un-Christian conduct as those who are guilty of vices that are now deemed palpably disgraceful.

WILBUR FISK, D.D., 1832: The dram-shop is the recruiting rendezvous of Hell! And shall a Christian consent to be the recruiting officer? The Church must free herself from this whole business. It is all a sinful work, with which Christians should have nothing to do, only to drive it from the sacred inclosures of the Church, and, if possible, from the earth.

MRS. L. H. SIGOURNEY, *Hartford*, 1833:

"*Only this once*"—beware! beware!
Gaze not upon the blushing wine;
Oh! fly Temptation's syren snare,
And, prayerful, seek for strength Divine.

WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING (*d.* 1842): At the present moment, he who uses ardent spirits, or introduces them into his hospitalities, virtually arrays himself against the cause of temperance and humanity. He not merely gives an example to his children and his domestics which he may one day bitterly rue, he withstands the good in their struggles for the virtue and happiness of mankind. He forsakes the standard of social reform, and throws himself into the ranks of its foes.

HORACE GREELEY, *in Tribune Editorial, October* 3*d*, 1854: The national Whig party, as it once existed, and struggled, under the lead of Adams, Clay, and Webster, was destroyed by the successful attempt of the anti-Progressive majority in its last National Convention, to place it, at least nominally, on a pro-Slavery platform. . . . In 1852, a new Whig National Convention assembled—we hope the last. . . . That contest was ended. Our party was not merely beaten but demolished. . . . The mass of men are still ruled by names and symbols. Despots and usurpers have often gilded their iron sway with devices emblematic of liberty and equality. . . . And herein is the reason why old party names and watchwords are still current after their significance has dropped. There is no sense in our people playing Whigs and Democrats any longer, after all the marrow there

ever was in the question thus controverted has been sucked out, leaving nothing but the bones. . . . In our State there is just one question that amounts to anything. . . . This question is—shall the sale of intoxicating drinks be effectually prohibited by law?

FATHER MATHEW (*d.* 1856): The principle of Prohibition seems to me to be the only safe and certain remedy for the evils of intemperance. The opinion has been strengthened and confirmed by the hard labor of more than twenty years in the temperance cause.

REV. JOHN PIERPONT (*d.* 1866): Yes, you have a license, and that is your plea. Well, my friend, if that is your plea I adjure you to keep it, lock it up among you choicest jewels, guard it as the apple of your eye; and when you die and are laid in your coffin, be sure that the precious document is placed within your cold and clammy fingers, so that when you are called upon to confront the souls of your victims before God, you may be able to file in your plea of justification, and boldly lay down your license on the bar of the Judge. Yes, my friend, keep it; you will then *want* your license, signed by the County Commissioners and indorsed by the Selectmen!

PRESIDENT ELIPHALET NOTT, D.D. (*d.* 1866): Oh! could we gain the young—the young who have no inveterate prejudices to combat, no established habits to overcome—could we gain the young, we might, after a single generation had passed away, shut up the dram-shop, the bar-room, and the rum-selling grocery, and, by shutting these up, shut up also the poor-house, the prison-house, and one of the broadest and most frequented avenues to the charnel house.—*Delevan's Essays*, *p.* 197.

ALBERT W. BARNES, D.D. (*d.* 1870): There are *moral* nuisances as well as *physical*—nuisances affecting the peace, the good order, the domestic virtues of a community, and all so much the worse, and so much the more dangerous, as the peace, the good order, the domestic virtues of a community are of more importance than its physical comforts; and if the one may be abated or removed, by so much the more may the other.—*Sermon on "The Throne of Iniquity."*

DR. CHARLES JEWETT: When or where did you ever know an individual who wasted his estate and beggared his family for coffee; ay, and then pawned his wife's shawl and his children's shoes for further supplies of the article? You never met with such a case, and you never will, if you all live to the age of Methuselah. But men have done all this for whiskey, rum, brandy, and every other variety of alcoholic liquors, even cider. If, then, it be not the power of alcoholic liquors to stimulate or excite which enslaves men, what

is it? IT IS BECAUSE THOSE LIQUORS POSSESS THE ADDED QUALITY OF A NARCOTIC.

HON. GERRIT SMITH (*d.* 1874): If the traffic in ardent spirits is immoral, then of necessity are the laws which authorize the traffic immoral. And if the laws are immoral, then we must be immoral if we do not protest against them.

HON. E. C. DELAVAN: Throw out your light; teach the people to feel that they are the law-makers. Show all the friends of temperance the folly of sending drinking men to our legislative halls, and then sending them petitions to save the community from the ruinous effects of their own practice.

HON. HENRY WILSON, *ex-Vice-President* (*d.* 1875): All other issues before the American people dwindle into insignificance compared to the issues involved in the temperance question.

J. G. HOLLAND: There is no question before the American people to-day that begins to match in importance the temperance question. The question of American slavery was never anything but a baby by the side of this; and we prophesy that within ten years, if not within five, the whole country will be awake to it and divided upon it.

HON. WILLIAM E. DODGE, *ex-President of National Temperance Society. From Interview in New York Tribune, December,* 1882: I think the time will come when there will be a national Prohibition party organized in this country, the mission of which shall be to drive out the liquor traffic.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Speech of December 20th,* 1866: I believe in the same sort of tactics that distinguished the operations of the abolitionists. Temperance men should be induced to carry their principles to the ballot-box with the same remorseless energy and persistence. If you vote for a man simply because he is a Republican or Democrat, you are false to your principles. If you on election day find a name upon your ticket who is not true to the temperance cause in principle and practice, and you drop that ticket into the ballot-box without having crossed out that name, write *traitor* on your brow!

WHAT A CENTURY OF TEMPERANCE CONFLICT HAS MADE CERTAIN IN REGARD TO THE CURE OF INTEMPERANCE.

Of the six questions proposed in 1811 only the last remains unanswered, but that is the most important of all:

WHAT METHODS OF LESSENING INTEMPERANCE HAVE BEEN TRIED AND PROVED BY THE EXPERIMENTS OF THE CLOSING CENTURY?

The century answers, that both its failures and successes have made it certain that there is no effective platform for temperance work except that of TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND PROHIBITION.

It took half a century to learn *how not to do it*, to find out by painful failures that

MODERATION,

and the wine cure, and license, all together cannot even prevent the increase of intemperance. During the first half of the century, when no one advocated total abstinence, but rather "moderation," and when very strict license laws were in force, the amount of liquor sold in this country steadily increased from two and one half gallons per capita in 1792 to seven and one half gallons in 1823—that is, liquor-selling and drunkenness did not "tremble," but trebled, under "moderation" and license.

The first lesson learned in the temperance conflict was

inscribed, in 1825, after forty years of fighting, on the first temperance paper as its motto: "Temperate drinking is the down-hill road to intemperance"—that is, *total abstinence is the only true temperance.* Men who talk about checking the evils of intemperance by "moderation" are half a century behind the times, travelling in the old stage-coach that in 1836 was abandoned, after fifty years of trial, by the early reformers.*

Temperance is the moderate use of *good* things only. Intemperance is the *excessive* use of *good* things or *any use of harmful things.* There can be no "moderation"

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* An article in the *National Temperance Advocate* of August, 1885, shows that "the first public advocacy (in England) of the principle of entire abstinence," including in the proscribed drinks, malt liquors with distilled, was in a speech of James Teare, June 18th, 1832. On March 26th, 1833, the "Preston Society" to which he belonged, coupled with its moderation pledges the first British total abstinence pledge, which five hundred and ninety-eight signed the first year.

"But the first [English] *society* founded on the one principle of total abstinence, and acknowledging no half-way measures, was the 'Youths' Temperance Society,' formed, Teare says, in Preston, early in January, 1834; but Dearden says that their pledge was adopted at a public meeting held 'April 18th, 1834, when one hundred and one young persons, generally between the age of fourteen and twenty-five, signed it;' and he adds, 'this was the first exclusive teetotal society ever established in England.' Here is the pledge they adopted:

"'I do voluntarily promise that I will abstain, for one year, from ale, porter, wine, ardent spirits, and all intoxicating liquors, and will not give nor offer them to others, except as medicine or in a religious ordinance; and I will endeavor to discountenance all the causes and practices of intemperance.'

"All the earlier total-abstinence pledges were drawn up for one year, and all, or nearly all, were drawn, revised, amended by Mr. Joseph Livesey. But the one-year limit had no significance beyond the evidence it affords of the timidity with which most people ventured upon a trial of abstinence from malt beverages which all had been taught to regard as nourishing and necessary."

in robbery, murder, or poisoning. It is amazing that any intelligent man, with the century's history before him, can speak of "moderation" as a safe plan for one's self or a safe example to set before his son or his associates. It is certain that neither in the last century nor any other has there been a drunkard who was not first a moderate drinker, and who did not intend always to remain so.

It is generally known that we have a sect in this country called the Dunkards. They have a peculiar way of meeting in a village. They come down upon the place to the number of five, ten, or twenty thousand, and fill up the houses, barns, and all the buildings about, and hold their meetings until they get through. A large number of them thus assembled in Indiana. The fact was cabled across the Atlantic, and the announcement was made in English newspapers as a matter of news that seven thousand *Drunkards* had assembled in Indiana. The cable by mistake had put in the letter "r," and it is a positive fact that the London *Telegraph*, one of the most reliable and ably-edited newspapers in England, had an editorial on the singular spectacle, as an illustration of American civilization, presented in Indiana by a meeting of seven thousand *drunkards!*

If the seventy times seven thousand drunkards in this country should assemble, there is one thing we could be certain of in advance, and that is, that not one in that vast army of the ragged and wretched ever intended to be anything worse than a "moderate drinker."

The editor of the *Sunday-School Times*, in a recent editorial on "Total Abstinence for One's Own Sake," names from his personal observation half a dozen preachers, representing the Methodist, Congregationalist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic

churches, men of eminent abilities and sincere virtue, who thought themselves strong enough to venture into the rapids of moderate drinking, and condemned total abstinence as extravagant, but were finally swept over the Niagara of drunken disgrace, carrying with them others who had been influenced by their example. Scores of statesmen and scholars have made the same fatal mistake.*

Charles Lamb (d. 1834), in his "Confessions of a Drunkard," written, evidently, out of the bitterness of his own experience, exclaimed: "Is there no middle way betwixt total abstinence and the excess which kills you? For your sake, reader, and that you may never attain to my experience, with pain I must utter the dreadful truth, that there is none." In the words of another, "There is no safe way but to

> 'Clasp the teeth, and not undo 'em
> To suffer wet damnation to run thro' 'em.'"

The century also proves, by the unsuccessful experiments of its first fifty years, that the only way to lessen intemperance is to

FIGHT ALL ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES,

beer and wine as much as brandy and whiskey—indeed, *more*—since, in our land at least, beer and wine form the bridge by which nearly all who enter the land of distilled liquors reach that fatal realm. Not until 1826 did reformers call for total abstinence, even from whis-

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* Hon. Schuyler Colfax, ex-Vice-President (*d.* 1884), says: "This demon, like death, has seemed to love a shining mark. From every profession he has drawn his victims. There is but one class that has defied him and will to the end. It is we, who stand, God helping us, with our feet on the Rock of Safety."

key and other *distilled* liquors; for ten years more they raised no voice against wine and other *fermented* liquors, considering them harmless temperance drinks. Then the vanguard of the temperance forces began to see that if alcohol was harmful when robed in whiskey, it must also be harmful when dressed in the simpler garb of beer and wine and cider. They saw that one could take just as much alcohol into his system in several glasses of beer as in one of brandy. They discovered that "Beer," "Ale," "Wine," "Brandy," "Whiskey," "Rum," and "Gin," were but *aliases* of the one criminal, Alcohol, the real cause of the woe and wounds which they were seeking to prevent. Dr. Lyman Beecher, in explaining this discovery of the early temperance workers, says that in the beginning of the fight with alcoholic drinks the temperance forces drove back what seemed to be the entire army of the enemy—distilled liquors—but no sooner had this main army been put to flight than they went around the hill, "changed their jackets," and came back again to the fight under the banner of wine and beer and cider, and so the battle had to be fought over again with the same soldiers. Although this lesson was learned half a century ago by thoughtful students of the temperance question, there are some even now who need to learn that alcohol in beer or wine is the same enemy as alcohol in brandy or whiskey, only in "another jacket."

Horace Greeley (d. 1872), in an earnest temperance editorial in the *Tribune*, urged young men to avoid the tempter in whatever form he might appear, "whether as punch or bitters, as sherry or Madeira, as hock or claret, as Heidsieck or champagne." Other members of the editorial corps who were not total abstainers greeted Mr. Greeley on his entrance to the office that morning

with uproarious laughter, telling him that Heidsieck was not a different wine from champagne, but only a particular brand. As the laugh went around the room, Mr. Greeley said, "Well, boys, I guess I'm the only man in this office that could have made *that* mistake. It don't matter what you call him—Champagne, or Heidsieck, or Absinthe—*he is the same old devil.*" Nothing has been more absolutely established by history than the fact that all alcoholic beverages have in them "the same old devil," the enemy of health, of home, of manhood, the author of every vice and crime.

Strangely enough, some belated people, half a century behind the times, talk of beer and light wines as harmless drinks, and some judges even require proof that lager beer is intoxicating, notwithstanding the fact that three fourths of the drunks in the police courts, according to the Cincinnati *Commercial*, are caused by beer. Dr. Bowditch, formerly chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Health, whose careless statements of a few years ago in favor of fermented liquors have been quoted extensively by liquor-dealers, has recently said (as reported in the New York *Christian Advocate*), that although he was formerly of contrary opinion, he thinks that "*to encourage the use of light wines and of lager beer with the intention of thereby lessening intemperance is a delusion and a humbug.*" So says a century of temperance work.

It is a corollary of what I have said about the equality in harmfulness of all liquors, that we should also recognize

THE EQUALITY IN GUILT OF ALL LIQUOR-SHOPS

from dining-cars to "dives." When a man dies under the blows of a dozen assassins, the well-dressed man who gives the first blow with a diamonded dagger is not less

guilty than the ragged tramp who stabs last with a rusty butcher-knife.

Some friends of the temperance movement, blind to the lessons of the century, are spending their strength and money in an effort to make liquor-shops "more respectable," to concentrate the traffic in a smaller number of more elegant saloons by high license.* It would be wiser to make all saloons *less* respectable, to close up the most orderly saloons, which are the only ones that serve as recruiting offices, the low dens having no attraction except for those whose lives are already ruined. As beer and wine are the most dangerous of intoxicants because they are the only ones attractive to beginners, so the most respectable saloons are the most dangerous, as the entrances to those that are more degraded.

One step further in the straight path of reasoning is showing many at the conclusion of the century, that if alcohol is just as harmful in beer as in brandy, it is just as harmful in

BRANDY SAUCE

as in either, just as capable of starting a fatal appetite when dressed in solids as when robed in liquids. We must drive the bottle not only from the dining-table, but also from the kitchen closet, which has a record of many blighted lives. That is a wise teacher who pledges children neither to *eat* nor drink what has alcohol in it. The hygienic studies of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union have caused this van of the temperance army to feel that not only alcoholic food, but also thirst-provoking and passion-stirring foods should be avoided.†

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* For evidence that this "effort" is not successful, even in reducing the number of saloons, see p. 56.

† A physician in New York State, who teaches that a simple and

Miss F. E. Willard thus voices this conviction : "I have formed a settled conviction that the world is fed too much. Pastries, cakes, hot bread, rich gravies, pickles, pepper sauces, salads, tea and coffee, are discarded from my 'bill of fare,' and I firmly believe that they will be from the recipes of the twentieth century. Entire wheat flour bread, vegetables, fruit, fish with a little meat, and milk as the chief drink, will distil in the alembic of the

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nutritious diet must be the basis of reform in intemperate drinking, states that "hotel tables create the demand for hotel bars." Costly "free lunches" pay by creating thirst for more costly drinks. The same thought is elaborated in an article by Helen Campbell, who has observed carefully and written strongly as follows on the subject :

"The story of intemperance everywhere is the story of heavy over-eating of animal food in highly seasoned forms. The unending pork and bacon of the South and West, the excessive meat-eating in our great cities, all create an abnormal thirst, which only a powerful stimulant can allay. I do not need to go into physiological details ; but you know that flesh digests more rapidly than vegetables, certain principles it contains being more quickly absorbed, and giving a sense of strength, which is stimulation, but not real building up. A preponderance of vegetables and fruits is necessary, which assimilate more slowly and do not create the thirst which follows inevitably on taking too much meat, just because an oversupply excites the stomach and produces too much action. There is a regular circle of cause and effect. The stomach, weakened by overstimulation, develops gastritis, which includes excessive thirst. Animal food keeps up the gastritis by overstimulation and taxation of the affected organ : the gastritis excites thirst, thirst perpetuates drunkenness. As a proof, we may say that no drunkard can relish plain, nutritious food. He has to disguise it by hot spices, gravies, or condiments. The taste of cereals, which contain the best elements for upbuilding the system, is so flat that he turns from them with loathing ; and the man who can eat plain food with relish is in no danger of falling a victim to alcohol—a truth which every housekeeper would do well to learn. Children early used to condiments and sweets grow nervous, irritable and puny, though they often seem very bright and intelligent. They are subject to a variety of ailments, take cold easily, and are very excitable."

digestive organs into pure, rich, feverless blood, electric but steady nerves, and brains that can 'think God's thoughts after Him,' as they have never yet been thought. This is my recipe: 'Plain living and high thinking,' and this is my warning: With high living you will get exceedingly plain thinking."

Woman, who had little part in the struggle with intemperance, except to suffer, until near the close of the century, is now using her power not only as queen of the kitchen, but also as queen of society to crush her direst foe.

"I'LL MARRY NO MAN IF HE DRINKS."

In 1827, a Virginia Temperance Society, in a series of resolutions, "advised young ladies to look with suspicion upon all young men who were fond of strong drink, and to frown them from all social circles"—advice which is not yet out of date. Dr. Edmunds, one of the most eminent physicians of London, recently said that he was frequently consulted as to whether a man who drinks frequently and is occasionally intoxicated is a safe man to marry under promise of reform. His answer was, that under no circumstances would he advise such a risk, unless an ample period of probation in total abstinence had shown the man to be thoroughly emancipated from his fatal propensity—advice which every pastor could doubly underscore out of the bitter experiences which are open to him in the homes of his people. Recently, the Supreme Court of Iowa, in the case of a wife who had made application for divorce on the ground that her husband was a confirmed drunkard, and the evidence showing that she had knowledge of his intemperate habits before she had married him, refused the petition. The judge said, "You voluntarily chose a drunkard for

a husband, and you should discharge the duties of a drunkard's wife. His failure to keep a pledge of reformation made before marriage does not justify you in deserting him. Having knowingly married a drunkard, you must make yourself content in the sacred relationship." Thousands of the most unhappy wives in the land are in a similar position. Every young woman, not only to encourage temperance, but also to protect herself from future blows and woes, should take as her motto, No tippler's hand for me.

Ladies of society may also encourage total abstinence, as many are already doing, by making it a social law not to receive into their parlors the wives or daughters of liquor-dealers, whose fine laces are woven of broken heart-strings. It will do much toward weakening the liquor traffic to make even its riches disreputable. The ladies may also aid the cause of temperance by discriminating in their patronage in favor of grocers who refuse to make money by sending the devil of drink into the homes of the people. It is the liquor-selling grocer who is sending so many women to inebriate asylums. Let him share the opprobrium that we visit upon the other liquor-dealers.

TEMPERANCE LAWS.

The only laws that the century shows to be worth working for are the various forms of prohibition.

License has been tried in all its forms, lax and strict, low and high, for a hundred years, and *has never anywhere lessened drunkenness or the amount of liquor-selling.** At best, one can only say of "High License" or strict license, as compared with that which is low or lax, what the kind servant said to his master who, in hunt-

* See Report of National Temperance Society for 1885, p. 68.

ing, had just fired into a flock of game and hit none of them, "Well, sir, you've made 'em *shift their places.*" High license may make whiskey-barrels "shift their places," but it never has diminished them.

But, worse than this—liquor license laws in any form are morally wrong. Even the Queen of Madagascar reproves our States by replying to those who proposed that she should receive a revenue from strong drink: "I cannot consent as your Queen to take revenue from that which destroys the souls and bodies of my subjects." It is not lawful to put license fees into the treasury, because they are the price of blood. If Judas had received a *higher* fee for the betrayal of Christ, it would not have made the transaction any less infamous.

The century of temperance work began with the idea of decreasing liquor-selling by increasing its license, but the century closes with three fourths of the temperance army shouting the watchword, "Revenue from rum is wrong." It is just as wicked to sell indulgences to commit crime as it was in the days of Tetzel.

> "Will you give to man a bill
> Divorcing him from Heaven's high sway,
> And while God says, 'Thou shalt not kill,'
> Say ye, 'For gold, ye may, ye may'?"*

Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, in 1833, said: "What excuse can we urge for the countenance given to the use of ardent spirits on almost every statute book? On one page you will read of heavy penalties denounced against drunkenness, riots, and public disorder; and the next chapter authorizes the retail of the very poison which all admit brings on these outbreaking transgressions. Who can reconcile these glaring contra-

* Rev. John Pierpont (*d.* 1866).

dictions? . . . If men will engage in this destructive traffic, let them no longer have the law as a pillow, nor quiet conscience with the opiate of a court license."

The eccentric John Randolph was accustomed to ride on horseback to the Capitol; and, on reaching his desk in the House, he often swept his rawhide riding-whip across the desk, and sent all the bills which the page had laid there flying over the floor. So should the whip of Christian principle sweep away all license laws.

PROHIBITION

being the only attitude that God takes toward any form of wrong-doing, is the only consistent attitude for good men.* In the language of Chesterfield, "Luxury is to

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* A clergyman who has hitherto opposed Prohibition on the ground that it did not meet his ideas of personal liberty, has recently been converted. He was delayed at —— for several hours, his train having failed to make its connection. The only comfortable waiting-room was in the railroad tavern. While sitting there he made a study of the scores of customers who came in: old soakers; active men who just dropped in for a warmer; young fellows, dudes, and those of the devil-may-care sort.

The result of this study he expresses thus: "Not one of those men had any personal liberty to lose. I could make of them only two classes—the *virtually deranged* and the *intellectual minors*. I have had something to do with the insane. Close observation had led me to note that peculiar contrast of wilfulness and impotence in the way such people follow their special tendencies. I cannot describe it; but I think I would not fail to pick out a deranged person from a crowd of strangers by it. I was startled by what I saw in the bar-room, and have come to the conviction that the rum-passion is insanity, and that persons who show it should have no more permission to indulge it than any other deranged person has to indulge his infirmity.

"I have also had something to do with children. However much information you may cram into a child's memory, it takes time for the mind to be able to feel the import of intellectual motives, or, as we say, for the judgment to mature. Independently of their ages,

be taxed, but vice prohibited, let the difficulties in executing the law be what they may." The proper place to curtail a mad dog is just behind the ears. The right application of the proverb, "Half a loaf is better than no bread," is not that we should work for a "high license law" when the people are not sufficiently aroused to vote themselves a prohibitory law, for that is working for poison in place of bread; but true "half-loaf reform" is to work for the lower forms of prohibition, such as local option or State legislative prohibition, until we can get the higher forms of State and National Constitutional prohibition, which are far more secure as coming from the whole people and susceptible of repeal only by them.

I need not give statistics to show that prohibition prohibits, for the liquor-dealers have proved this for us in a concise and conclusive argument—the outcries which they make against it.* Though the men in this traffic

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I have been accustomed to classify young persons about me, especially in the school, as intellectual children and adults. Of those in the bar-room who were not already rum-crazed, I cannot recall one whose conversation was not almost infantile. Certainly there was not one whom I would have been willing to employ in any business capacity involving the use of brains.

"That many able men are addicted to the habit of drink I do not doubt. But I as firmly believe that the great majority of those who frequent the saloons are *intellectual minors*, and should be treated as such. Indeed, the fact that young men will risk the loss of reputation by frequenting such places, that they will deliberately acquire a habit of drink which is at first distasteful to them, knowing all the hazards—these things show a lack of mental appreciation of their commonest environments as members of society. One thing is certain—if I do not vote for the next Prohibition candidate, it will not be because I have any scruples about prohibitory laws infringing personal liberty."

* From the *Champion*, an organ of the liquor traffic, we take the

are mostly knaves, they are not mostly fools, and they do not, like Falstaff, waste their strength in stabbing a dead enemy. So long as liquor-sellers, in speeches and papers, expend effort and money to defeat prohibition, so long we shall need no other argument to show that prohibition is not a failure. Apply Joseph Cook's maxim here: "Show me what the saloon-keepers do not want, and I will show you what I want:"

> "Moral suasion for the man who drinks,
> Mental suasion for the man who thinks,
> Legal suasion for the drunkard-maker,
> Prison suasion for the statute-breaker."

The high-water mark of temperance opinion in the first century of the temperance reform is a recent editorial in the Boston *Journal of Chemistry* or *Popular Science News,* a high scientific authority which declares that there is no obstacle to the national Constitutional prohibition of *all* importation, manufacture, or traffic in alcohol, since it is no longer needed even for medicine or the arts, there being substitutes for it in both. The editor, Dr. R. J. Nichols, LL.D., says: "The banishment of alcohol would not deprive us of a single one of the indispensable agents which modern civilization demands. Neither would chemical science be retarded by its loss. . . . In no instances of disease in any form is it a medicine which might not be dispensed with and other

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following: "Saloon-keepers, liquor-dealers, brewers, distillers, beware! The muster of the Prohibition hosts, at the late election, is your 'Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.' Rouse yourselves from your lethargy; form your protective phalanxes, fight for your rights, for your business, for your homes, but remember that while a child can easily break a single twig, or a small stick, the most powerful man cannot break a bunch of rods tied together. In union there is strength. United we stand, divided we fall!"

agents substituted." * The new century will doubtless give us prohibition without the present impediment of a liquor-agency, or liquor-selling druggist,† in every town, which is to-day the most serious impediment to the effectiveness of prohibition where it has been enacted.

While accepting, when we can do no better, the half-loaf of local option or State prohibition, and enforcing all the laws we get, by Law and Order Leagues (which are needed even in prohibition States, as many failures of the century prove—one of the most frequent faults of temperance men being the habit of trusting to legislation and neglecting administration), let us work in the new century especially for the whole loaf of National Constitutional prohibition.

The *Union Signal* tersely says that prohibition rests on three arguments — any one of them sufficient;

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* Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago, who was President of the International Medical Congress at Philadelphia in 1876, holds the same view as Dr. Nichols as to alcohol being unnecessary both in medicine and the arts. For both opinions in full see Epilogue.

† The Rev. J. M. Buckley, in the New York *Independent*, writes of liquor-selling in drug-stores as follows:

"The average drug-store is now the most dangerous institution to young men in all large cities and towns, for it affords safety from suspicion to the respectable young man in the neighborhood where he lives. These places are open day and night and on the Sabbath. The common groggery must be closed, but the druggist may sell liquor disguised in soda. The Apostle James says: 'Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?' Certainly the modern soda-fountain in the average drug-store does this. A physician of note informed me that he saw a young man drink brandy, disguised in soda, four times in an hour on Sunday evening in a drug-store; while I have known the boy sent for a prescription for his sick mother to be detained until men calling for liquor could be served. There are honorable exceptions—druggists who sell alcohol as they sell other medicines and poisons; but their number in cities and large towns is not large, and diminishes annually."

namely, the economic argument—we can't afford the saloon; the moral argument—the ruin of character caused by drink; the political argument—the domination of the saloon in politics.

THE NEW PARTY.

In my own opinion it is one of the lessons most plainly taught by the closing century that neither of the two great national parties can be relied on to give prohibition to the people.

The national Democratic party declared against prohibition in its platform of 1884, and the national Republican party in its Raster resolution of 1872.*

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* The Sixteenth Resolution adopted by the Republican National Convention of 1872 reads as follows: "The Republican party propose to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of a resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either State or National Governments." In response to a question, Mr. Raster wrote as follows in regard to this resolution:

CHICAGO, ILL., July 10, 1872.

J. M. MILLER: DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of July 8th, I have to say that I have written the Sixteenth Resolution of the Philadelphia platform, and that it was adopted by the Platform Committee with the full and explicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance (prohibitory) and Sunday laws. This purpose was meant to be expressed by reference to those rights of the people which had not been delegated to either National or State Governments, it being assumed that the right to drink what one pleases (being responsible for acts committed under the influence of strong drink), and the right to look upon the day on which Christians have their prayer-meeting as on any other day, were among the rights not delegated by the people, but reserved to themselves. Whether this explanation of the meaning of the resolution will satisfy you or not I do not know. But as you want to serve the

Noteworthy features of the "Business Men's" parades in New York City just before the close of the 1884 campaign were two clubs from the Distillers' Wine and Spirit Exchange—one Democratic, for Cleveland and Hendricks, of about three thousand, the other Republican, for Blaine and Logan, of about two thousand. So do the liquor-men adhere to, and to a large extent dominate in, both the old parties.

Both parties have at times enacted prohibitory laws in various States, but both parties have also repealed them at other times.

The *Missouri Statesman*, a Democratic prohibition journal, says, quoting as authority the last report of General Raum, United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue:

"The nineteen States voting for Garfield in 1880 give support to 112,915 retail liquor-dealers, or one saloon to every 250 of the population, while the nineteen States voting for Hancock have only 57,276 retail dealers, or one saloon to every 370 of the population! These statistics show not only that the pronounced Republican States have greatly more retail liquor-dealers in proportion to population than the pronounced Democratic States, but show the astonishing fact that to average the country over the retail dealers in liquor are forty per cent greater in Republican States than in Democratic States."

The words of Charles Sumner in defence of the new

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cause of truth as I do, and what I have stated here in regard to the "true meaning and intent" of the Sixteenth Resolution of the Philadelphia platform is the truth.

Very respectfully yours,

HERMAN RASTER.

[*Editor of Staats-Zeitung of Chicago.*]

party he was forming to overthrow "King Cotton" and his system of slavery, which neither of the great parties of that day were willing to attack, are appropriate now when duty calls us to a national war of emancipation against King Beer and his system of slavery. He said: "It is dogmatically asserted that there can be but two parties, that a third party is impossible, particularly so in our country, and that, therefore, all persons, however opposed to slavery, must be content in one of the old parties. This assumption is without any foundation in reason."

So it proved. A supreme issue caused a readjustment of party relations. Southern Whigs became Democrats. Northern Democrats very numerously combined with the "Liberty party" to form the Republican party, whose purpose has been grandly accomplished. As there were enough opposers of slavery in the Whig and Democratic parties, when they came out and united, to destroy it, so there are enough prohibitionists in the two great parties of to-day to "pulverize the rum power" if they will but unite in a new Liberty party.

At a temperance convention, held recently in Wisconsin, it was affirmed that at the late session of the State Legislature the petitions of nearly one hundred thousand of the citizens of that State "were virtually trampled under foot;" and it was resolved that in the future the main effort of the Wisconsin temperance electors shall be "to send to the Legislature petitions with *boots on!*"

Promises to temperance men, even in political platforms, are all too often disregarded. A candidate for Governor of Maine, being reminded of his inconsistency as a protectionist in standing on a free-trade platform, replied: "That's all right. A platform is only a convenience to enter a car which is to take you somewhere."

Temperance apostles have "reasoned of righteousness" long and vainly with the Democratic Felix and the Republican Agrippa of to-day. Agrippa's "almost persuaded" we find to be only a sneer. It is time to "reason of a judgment to come" and to "*appeal unto Cæsar.*"

> WHEN PARTY IS RIGHT, SUSTAIN PARTY; NOT BECAUSE IT IS PARTY, BUT BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT. WHEN IT IS WRONG, DO YOUR BEST TO SET IT RIGHT; AND IF YOU FAIL IN THAT, THEN BOLT YOUR PARTY AND BEAT IT. WHEN A PARTY HAS OUTLIVED PURITY, IT HAS OUTLIVED USEFULNESS, AND, BEING DEAD, OUGHT TO BE BURIED.—*Stewart L. Woodford.*

But the temperance century teaches very emphatically that even more important than agitation for better temperance laws is it to recruit the armies of total abstinence by

PUBLIC AND PERSONAL PERSUASION.

One of the most frequent mistakes of the century has been the relaxing of personal efforts to make men abstainers when some restrictive law has been obtained. The laws themselves have often become ineffective, and so have been repealed because the same vigorous efforts did not follow the enactment as produced it—because the demand for liquor was not cut down as much as the supply. The greatest successes of the century have been the Washingtonian Movement, the Woman's Crusade, and the Ribbon Reform Clubs, all of which have depended chiefly upon prayer and persuasion, and have worked chiefly to recruit the army of abstainers.

Men must be ignorant of the century's history who

either oppose the use of the pledge, or rest chiefly upon it. "By the law," said the Apostle, "is the knowledge of sin." So, by taking the pledge and trying to keep it, men find their need of God, and are driven to prayer. Otherwise, pledges are but a cage of straw for a hungry lion.

Prohibition, pledge, prayer; but the greatest of these is

PRAYER.

"I came home one night very late," says the Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, in his "Marvels of Prayer," "and had gone to bed to seek needed rest. The friend with whom I boarded awoke me out of my first refreshing sleep, and informed me that a little girl wanted to see me. I turned impatiently over in my bed, and said:

"'I am very tired; tell her to come in the morning, and I will see her.'

"My friend soon returned, and said:

"'I think you had better get up. The girl is a poor little suffering thing. She is thinly clad, is without bonnet or shoes. She has seated herself on the doorstep, and says she must see you, and will wait till you get up.'

"I dressed myself, and opening the outside door I saw one of the most forlorn-looking little girls I ever beheld. Want, sorrow, suffering, neglect, seemed to struggle for the mastery. She looked up to my face, and said:

"'Be you the man that preached last night, and said that Christ could save to the uttermost?'

"'Yes.'

"'Well, I was there, and I want you to come right down to my house, and try to save my poor father.'

"'What's the matter with your father?'

"'He's a very good father when he don't drink.

He's out of work, and he drinks awfully. He's almost killed my poor mother; but if Jesus can save to the uttermost, He can save him. And I want you to come right to our house now.'

"I took my hat and followed my little guide, who trotted on before, halting as she turned the corners to see that I was coming. Oh, what a miserable den her home was! A low, dark, underground room, the floor all slush and mud—not a chair, table, or bed to be seen. A bitter cold night, and not a spark of fire on the hob, and the room not only cold, but dark. In the corner, on a little dirty straw, lay a woman. Her head was bound up, and she was moaning, as if in agony. As we darkened the doorway, a feeble voice said, 'Oh, my child, my child! why have you brought a stranger into this horrible place?' Her story was a sad one, but soon told. Her husband, out of work, maddened with drink, and made desperate, had stabbed her because she did not provide him with a supper that was not in the house. He was then up-stairs, and she was expecting every moment that he would come down and complete the bloody work he had begun. While the conversation was going on the fiend made his appearance. A fiend he looked. He brandished the knife, still wet with the blood of his wife.

"The missionary, like the man among the tombs, had himself belonged to the desperate classes. He was converted at the mouth of a coal-pit. He knew the disease and the remedy—knew how to handle a man on the borders of *delirium tremens*.

"Subdued by the tender tones, the madman calmed down, and took a seat on a box. But the talk was interrupted by the little girl, who approached the missionary, and said:

"'Don't talk to father; it won't do any good. If talking would have saved him he would have been saved long ago. Mother has talked to him so much, and so good. You must ask Jesus, who saves to the uttermost, to save my poor father.'

"Rebuked by the faith of the little girl, the missionary and the miserable sinner knelt down together. He prayed as he never prayed before; he entreated and interceded in tones so tender and fervent that it melted the desperate man, who cried for mercy. And mercy came. He bowed in penitence before the Lord, and lay down to sleep that night on his pallet of straw a pardoned soul.

"Relief came to that dwelling. The wife was lifted from her dirty couch, and her home was made comfortable. On Sunday the reformed man took the hand of his little girl and entered the infant-class, to learn something about the Saviour who 'saves to the uttermost.' He entered upon a new life. His reform was thorough. He found good employment, for, when sober, he was an excellent workman; and, next to his Saviour, he blesses God for the faith of his little girl, who believed in a Saviour able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by Him."

In this work to rescue the perishing,

THE CHURCHES

ought not only to have a part, but a leading one. The reform began in the churches, but, by their unfaithfulness, has come to be in these days mostly an outside work. The Church should take it up again. It needs to do so for its own protection, lest the disgraceful scenes of one hundred years ago in the tippling habits of ministers and the frequent drunkenness of church members should be repeated.

Mr. Finney once had an awakened inquirer kneeling by his side, and as he repeated over the various surrenders to be made, he came to this one: "O God, I will serve Thee in my business." The man was silent. When Mr. Finney asked him why he hesitated at this point, the poor man stammered out, "I am in the liquor trade." The first half of the century taught men that *selling* liquor could not be done to the glory of God. The last half of the century should have taught every Christian that one cannot *drink* to the glory of God, since he thus risks his own health and character, and imperils also those who follow his example.

In the Christian Home for Intemperate Men, in New York City—one of the best institutions of its kind—there have been not a few church members and church officers, and even some ministers, who have come there to be saved from a drunkard's fate. One of these church officers, when Mr. Bunting asked him, "Do you want to be saved?" replied, "I am saved; I am a member of the Presbyterian Church, in good standing. I am a Christian." Mr. Bunting replied to this man, who had been brought to the Home intoxicated the day before: "Let me tell you, Hell is full of just such Christians as you are. If you are saved we can do nothing for you. But, before you go, just let me ask you one question, What are you saved from?" He saw his error and was rescued.

If any one shields himself in following a bad example which endangers his own character and others also who are under his influence, with the argument that one celebrated Presbyterian preacher defends moderation, I ask why do you give more weight to one excellent but eccentric man than to the repeated deliverances of the General Assembly in favor of total abstinence and "the

utter extermination of the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage''? You would not accept the theory of one Christian man against thousands of equally eminent men unless you put your own wish in the place of logic.

All Christian churches should have a temperance department, with meetings at least once a month, as at Dr. Cuyler's, and unfermented wine at the Lord's table, lest, as in some instances where intoxicating wine has been used, the sacrament should become, not a means of grace, but a means of ruin.

Apart from this question of harm to reformed men by using fermented wine at the Lord's Supper, and apart from the probability that the law against leaven at the Passover required the wine to be free from fermentation,* it should be noted that the pure, unfermented

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* The editor of the London *Methodist Times* lately witnessed the celebration of the Jewish Passover in that city, and at the close of the services, said to the rabbi : "May I ask with what *kind* of wine you have celebrated the Passover this evening?" The answer promptly given was : "With a non-intoxicating wine. Jews never use fermented wine in their synagogue services, and must not use it on the Passover, either for synagogue or home purposes. Fermented liquor of any kind comes under the category of 'leaven,' which is proscribed in so many well-known places in the Old Testament. The wine which is used by Jews during the week of Passover is supplied to the community by those licensed by the chief rabbi's board, and by those only. Each bottle is sealed in the presence of a representative of the ecclesiastical authorities. The bottle standing yonder on the side-board from which the wine used to-night was taken was thus sealed. I may also mention that poor Jews who cannot afford to buy this wine make an unfermented wine of their own, which is nothing else but an infusion of Valencia or Muscatel raisins. I have recently read the passage in Matthew in which the Paschal Supper is described. There can be no doubt whatever that the wine used upon that occasion was unfermented. Jesus, as an observant Jew, would not only not have drunk fermented wine on the Passover, but would not have celebrated the Passover in any house from which

"fruit of the vine" is much nearer the "cup" of the original Lord's Supper than the drugged decoctions that are bought for wine by churches which claim to be literally following Biblical example.

The Church is the army of God, organized to fight against vices of every kind, and it is bad generalship for any church to ignore that very Goliath of the vices—Intemperance. It is not strange that the New York *Tribune*, in calling the churches to greater activity in temperance work, should exclaim, "What are sectarian differences by the side of this great curse? Can the churches fold their hands and flatter themselves that their duties are fulfilled while the masses prefer the saloon to the pulpit, and while rum rules in politics and society?"

A Christian woman in Illinois recently followed a drinker in whom she was deeply interested into a saloon; just as he was about to take the glass she tapped him gently on the shoulder and requested him to go with

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everything fermented had not been removed. I may mention that the wine I use in the service at the synagogue is an infusion of raisins. You will allow me, perhaps, to express my surprise that Christians, who profess to be followers of Jesus of Nazareth, can take what He could not possibly have taken as a Jew—intoxicating wine—at so sacred a service as the sacrament of the Lord's Supper." The Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D., in his essay on the Lord's Supper, says: "The writer has satisfied himself, by careful research, that in our Saviour's time, the Jews, at least the high ritualists among them, extended the prohibition of leaven to the principle of fermentation in every form; and it was customary, at the Passover festival, for the master of the household to press the contents of 'the cup' from clusters of grapes preserved for this especial purpose."

If these statements do not wholly disprove the claim that Christ at the Last Supper used fermented wine, they at least make that claim *doubtful*, and as fermented wine is proved to be also dangerous, the unfermented wine should surely have the benefit of the doubt.

her. He complied, and as the two marched toward the door the saloon-keeper recovered sufficiently from his amazement to ejaculate: "That beats the devil." The lady turned and emphatically retorted: "Yes, sir, it was my intention to beat the Devil." If it is the intention of the Church to beat the Devil, his Gibraltar of intemperance must not be ignored.

The temperance century teaches us also that we must multiply the work of temperance societies and churches by a generous use of

TEMPERANCE LITERATURE.

Wherever the harvest of prohibition has been reaped, there has first been a spring-time, under the motto, "Sow the State knee-deep with temperance literature." Like Luther, we must throw ink at the Devil. The press must run before the carriage of prohibition, and cry, "Prepare the way." We must reach the mouth by way of the eyes and brain. Temperance stories should abound in every Sabbath-school library. Free reading-rooms for boys should be opened in every community. Every State Legislature should be induced to put text-books on alcohol into its common schools. To educate is to eradicate.*

"SAVE THE BOY."

Last, and greatest of all, the temperance century teaches us that even more than "reform" or "prohibition," prevention is the watchword of victory.

Miss Cleveland, "the lady of the White House," in a leaflet entitled, "A Woman's Cry," † thus pictures the

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* All temperance publications are kept on sale by the National Temperance Society, 58 Reade Street, New York, whose catalogue will be sent on application.

† National Temperance Society, 30 cents per 100.

appeal of imperilled womanhood and childhood : "When the young Queen of Austria, pressed on every side by the ruthless oppression of the great Prussian king, fled trembling into Hungary, and with her infant in her arms, her royal crown upon her head, appealed for the protection of her kingdom to her loyal subjects there, those stalwart Hungarian nobles rose in a mass, and, laying their right hands upon the swords at their sides, swore, in a shout whose heroic ring echoes down the years, 'Moriamur pro *rege nostro*, Maria Theresa!' And how they did die, all the world knows.

"I dare affirm that the American mother who to-day, being pressed on every side by the aggression of King Alcohol, confronts American men, the infant in her arms her only sceptre, the motherhood upon her brow her only crown, and cries to them for protection of her kingdom, the home, carries in her cry an *argument*. And I dare affirm—for, thank God, it is a spectacle all may witness—the stalwart warriors pulling from their scabbards trusty swords, *admit* that cry to be an *argument*, by their answering shout, 'We will fight for *our King!*'"

This appeal to men for "Home Protection" means prohibitory laws, but by other means also we must "*save* the boy."

In one generation we can almost eradicate intemperance, if we can get wine and beer off the home dining-tables and out of the sideboards and the kitchens, and introduce temperance teachings into the homes and Sunday-schools and common schools. We must save the drunkards in advance by making them temperance boys and girls. To prevent is easier than to repent. Of the 600,000 drunkards pledged in the Washingtonian movement, 450,000 were only for a time turned aside from

their journey to a drunkard's grave. More than one half of those pledged under more distinctly religious auspices by Gospel reform clubs, have also relapsed. What have been saved are more than worth all the effort, but our chief hope must be in saving the children, by quarterly temperance lessons in the Sabbath-schools (which were not enlisted on the side of temperance until half a century ago, but celebrated the closing year of the temperance century by the passage of a resolution at the recent International Sabbath-School Convention, asking the International Lesson Committee to put one temperance lesson in every quarter); by temperance teaching in the day-schools, which the States are requiring, as the last and best temperance movement of the century; * and

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* *Why* the young should be taught about alcohol and *what*, has never been stated better than in the following words of Dr. Holland:

"There is probably no hallucination so obstinate as that which attributes to alcoholic drink a certain virtue which it never possessed. After all the influence of the pulpit and the press, after all the warning examples of drunkenness and consequent destruction, after all the testimony of experience and science; there lingers in the average mind an impression that there is something good in alcohol, even for the healthy man. Boys and young men do not shun the wine-cup, as a poisoner of blood and thought, and the most dangerous drug they can possibly handle; but they have an idea that the temperance man is a fogy, or foe to a free, social life, whose practices are ascetic, and whose warnings are to be laughed at and disregarded. Now, in alcohol in its various forms we have a foe to the human race so subtile and so powerful that it destroys human beings by the million, vitiates all the processes of those who indulge in it, degrades morals, induces pauperism and crime in the superlative degree when compared with other causes, and corrupts the homes of millions.

"It is a cruel thing to send a boy out into the world untaught that alcohol in any form is fire, and will certainly burn him if he puts it into his stomach. It is a cruel thing to educate a boy in such a way that he has no adequate idea of the dangers that beset his path. It is a mean thing to send a boy out to take his place in society with-

by temperance work in the home, on whose wall should hang, as at Dr. Cuyler's, a "Family Pledge." Children should be taught by their parents to hate rum as intensely as Hannibal was taught by his father to hate Rome.

Work for the young is to be the chief element of temperance work in its second century into which we are soon to pass, encouraged (in spite of the fact that the

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out understanding the relations of temperance to his own safety and prosperity, and to the safety and prosperity of society.

"What we want in our schools is to do away with the force of a pernicious example, and a long-cherished error, by making the children thoroughly intelligent on this subject of alcohol. They should be taught the effect of alcohol upon the processes of animal life.

"1. They should be taught that it can add nothing whatever to the vital tissues; that it does not enter into the elements of structure, and, in the healthy organism, it is always a burden or disturbing force.

"2. They should be taught that it invariably disturbs the operations of the brain, and that the mind can get nothing that is to be relied upon.

"3. They should be taught that alcohol inflames the baser passions, blunts the sensibilities, and debases the feelings.

"4. They should be taught that the appetite for drink is certainly developed by those who use it, which is dangerous to life, destructive to health of body and peace of mind, and in millions of instances ruinous to fortune and to all the high interests of the soul.

"5. They should be taught that the crime and pauperism of society flow as naturally from alcohol as any effect whatever naturally flows from its competent cause.

"6. They should be taught that drink is the responsible cause of most of the poverty and want of the world. So long as six hundred million dollars are annually spent for drink in this country, every ounce of which was made by the destruction of bread, and not one ounce of which has ever entered into the sum of national wealth, having nothing to show for its cost but destroyed stomachs, degraded homes, destroyed industry, increased pauperism, and aggravated crime, these boys should understand the facts and be prepared to act upon them in their first responsible conduct."

amount of drinking *per capita* has increased since the beginning of the war) by abundant evidence that temperance has made great progress in its first century of conflict with the drinking usages of society.*

Much less than a century ago, even a preacher was offered intoxicating drink at every call, every wedding, and every funeral. Preachers of to-day are seldom invited to drink. And, in Christian homes at least, liquors have been driven from the sideboard to the closet, and in thousands of homes from the closet to the gutter, in the place of their victims.

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* Some of our encouragements are admirably stated by one of our enemies, *The Retailer*, an organ of the liquor-dealers, in a warning to its patrons : "We call your attention to the fact that not less than one million votes are arrayed against you in the various so-called temperance societies, and almost the entire force of pulpit orators of the country. Add to this one hundred and fifty-three newspapers and periodicals, 'especially devoted to the cause,' to say nothing of the lay dailies and weeklies which truckle more or less to the morbid and bigoted public sentiment that tolerates sumptuary legislation."

The Retailer should have named also the evangelical churches, all of which have "resolved" in favor of "the utter extermination of the liquor traffic." Their members (ten millions) and adherents form 70 per cent of the whole population, and so are *able*, whenever they will *unite*, to make this resolution a reality. To such a triumphant co-operation the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is leading them in all parts of the land. But the very best "sign" of the final overthrow of the liquor oligarchy is the news from all parts of the land that they are "boycotting," "black-listing," "egging," "assaulting," "assassinating," temperance men, and dictating to political parties and public officers, as if training for the Centennial of the "Whiskey Rebellion" in 1891. By such threats and violence slavery hastened its death, although at least three times as many persons had invested at least ten times as much capital in it. Thus Buddhism precipitated its disestablishment in Japan. Thus shall our State church of the Devil disestablish itself. "When ye see these things, know that the end is near."

And so we conclude this brief review of the century with the following

PLATFORM AND DECLARATION,

which the facts of the century should lead every Christian and every patriot to adopt as his own :

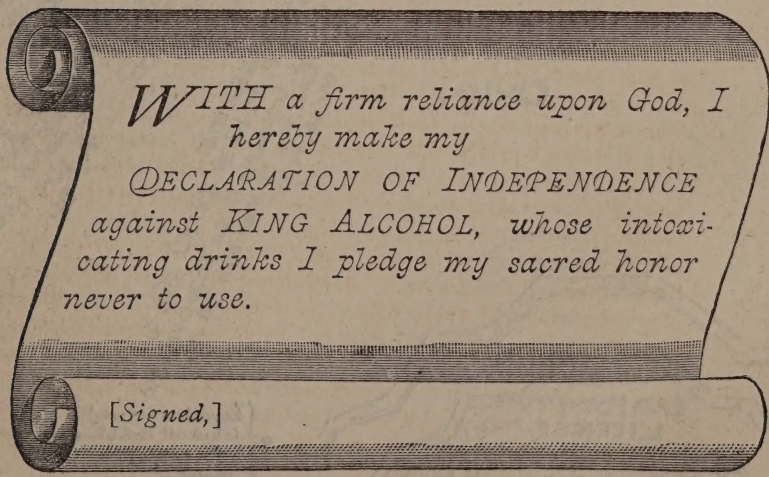
WHEREAS, One who totally abstains from the use of all alcoholic liquors cannot possibly become a drunkard, while one who uses them may become a drunkard ; and,

WHEREAS, One who uses alcoholic beverages may possibly lead others to become drunkards by his example, while one who does not use them cannot possibly ruin others in this way ; and,

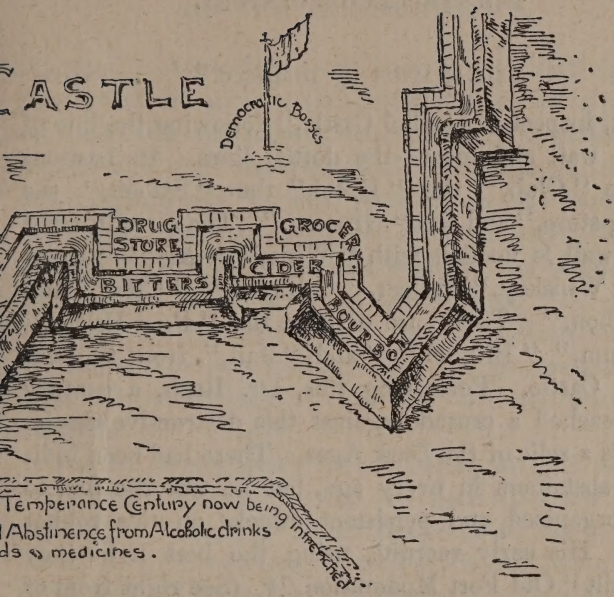
WHEREAS, Alcoholic beverages, even when they do not lead to intoxication, are injurious to health ; and,

WHEREAS, Alcoholic beverages cannot possibly be considered necessities of life, and in many cases are destructive of life,

Therefore,

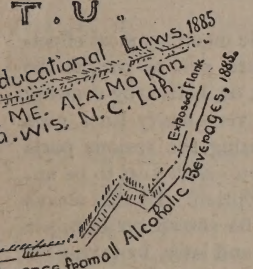


ALCOHO
Republican Bosses
Republican Convention
CLUB
Hom
WHISKEY
Non-Partisan Rep. League
Prohibition Party, 1885.
Temperance Army
Total Prohibition by
and State Constitutions
Importation, Manufacture o
of all Alcoholic Liquors
Position of
Exposed Flanks
Tenn. R.I. Ore. Tex. La. Miss. Ala. Fla. Ga. S.C. N.C. W.Va. Md.
Penn. N.J. Ken. Minn. Wis. Ill. Mich. Neb. Ark. Mo.
Va. Mass. N.Y.
Local Prohibition 1885.
State Constitutional Prohibition 1883.
Me. Kan.
Temperance
Ct. Mich. Vt.
Mass. Neb. N
Exposed Flanks
State Constitutional Prohibition
Vt. N.H. N
Ia.
Unprotected 1885
OHIO.
HIGH WALLS
OLD TOW WALLS
Col. (Col.)
OLD FORT NEW DEL ND
LICENSE
Evacuation by Main Army of Temperance begun 1880 because its Cannonading utterly failed to reduce the garrison of Alcohol Castle at such long range.
* Legislature has voted to submit Prohibition to the vote of the People.

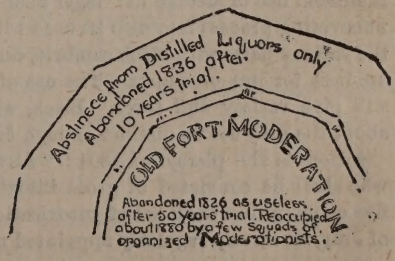


Temperance Century now being Inaugurated
Abstinence from Alcoholic drinks
ds & medicines.

T. U.



inence from all Alcoholic



W. F. Crafts
Wm. E. Mundy
del.

EXPLANATION OF DIAGRAM.*

First, inspect "Alcohol Castle," following the line of the old wall and moat—the dotted lines. Its bastions are the "Club," the "Hotel," the "Saloon," the "Drug-store," and the "Grocery." The *moat* in front of the wall is flooded with "Wine," "Ale," "Brandy," "Whiskey," "Beer," "Bitters," "Cider," and "Bourbon." There are exits to the "Poor-House," "Asylum," "Brothel," "and "Jail," from the rear of the Castle. Perceiving this, Dr. Rush, a century ago, preached a crusade against this destructive Castle, which is a relic of the Dark Ages. There had been individual abstainers in every age, but he was the first to make organized and persistent attacks on this robber Castle. His early recruits, using the best light they had, built "Old Fort Moderation."† (See right front of

* The above diagram may be used in public meetings most effectually, either by drawing it on a large blackboard, *part by part*, as the history of the century's battles is developed, or, better, by drawing the whole diagram carefully in advance, in very heavy lines, on a large sheet of manilla paper, and then covering the various parts with the same kind of paper lightly pinned on—each part to be uncovered at the appropriate place in the description. By this means the original form of the Castle might first be shown on an upper layer of paper (see dotted lines in the Castle), and later, by taking off this upper layer of paper at the centre at the appropriate time, the increased use of alcohol in "lager beer" would at once appear. This uncovering process may also be used with the blackboard by covering the various parts with black cambric, dull side out. Charcoal crayons are best for use on paper. The use of bright red coloring for wine will give variety and force. Black, white, scarlet, and yellow are about the only colors distinct enough for this work.

† Here is the pledge of 1804: "Any member of this Association who shall be convicted of gross intoxication shall be fined twenty-five cents, unless such act of intoxication shall take place on the 4th of July, or on any regularly appointed military muster!"

diagram.) After fifty years' earnest cannonading it was found that the guns of this fort had made no impression on the Castle, and so they were advanced to closer range behind the new breastworks of "Abstinence from distilled liquors only." This position was also found to be too distant, and was abandoned after ten years' trial, and another general advance was made to the position now held by the main army of temperance, "Abstinence from all alcoholic *beverages.*" In this position our flanks are exposed to disastrous fire from the grocers and druggists, who shoot their alcohol into our lines in food and medicine.

The left wing attack on the Castle, by *law*, began in "Old Fort License," some of whose walls are "low" and others "high," but all powerless in the bombardment of the Castle, except to make a shifting about of its alcohol. License has never been able to reduce either the amount of drinking or of drunkenness, and so has been abandoned by most of the States for some form of "local prohibition," mostly of a very mixed and imperfect character, the flanks being in every case exposed —in towns where local prohibition prevails, by the liquor-selling of neighboring towns; in States where prohibition prevails, by the liquor-selling of neighboring States, and also from dishonorable druggists and "town agents." It will surprise many to see so few States marked as still in "Old Fort License" and so many behind the fragmentary breastworks of "Local prohibition." (This does not mean "local option" only, but all forms of local and partial prohibition, which recognize the principle involved.) This fact is very significant, for *all* the States were in "Old Fort License" during the first and second thirds of the century, and all have at some time deserted it as unsatisfactory, and ad-

vanced to some of the forms of prohibition. It has been said that Colorado is the only State which has not enacted some form of prohibitory law, but Colorado has partial prohibition in its very *Constitution*, and requires the Legislature to enact laws for carrying it into effect. Thus far the Legislature has ignored this provision, showing that every form of prohibition must be followed up by the election of legislators in sympathy with it or it will fail.*

The strongest positions of the temperance lines, on the legal side, at the close of the first century of temperance conflict, are "State Constitutional prohibition" and "Temperance Education laws."

But while the temperance army has advanced its lines, the Castle has also advanced its walls, especially at the centre, occupied by the beer-saloon,† which should be the centre of attack for most of our temperance guns, as it is the most harmful part of the Castle. Even Dr. Dorchester,

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* The unorganized public sentiment in Ohio in favor of prohibition is at least 325,000—a majority of all the voters—but this fact does not have enough weight to induce either of the old parties to take a stand for prohibition, or even promise to resubmit the matter to the people. So in Canada, the local option law, which has been endorsed by a great majority of the people in non-partisan votes, has only eight votes in the Dominion Parliament between it and death. *The Volksblatt* of Cincinnati, the organ of the German Republicans of Ohio, says editorially (July 10th, 1885): "If it is granted that prohibition is really right and the accepted means of reclaiming mankind, then the prohibitionists have the *undisputed right*, as a political organization, to advance their claims and antagonize all other parties and counteract all hindrances to their object, as they are now doing. . . . It is only by *disabusing* the prohibitionists of their convictions; it is only by convincing them that they are *wrong*, that we can hope to restrain them from prosecuting the fight for those convictions."

† The recent increase in wine-drinking is equal to the increase of population; of whiskey, double; of beer, quadruple.

who claims that great gains have been made by the temperance army, was obliged to admit (in parenthesis), in his address at the recent anniversary of the National Temperance Society, that the amount of alcohol used *per capita* had increased during the last few years. In his pamphlet on "Drink Sophistries" he admits that drinking customs have been strengthened and increased since 1860, which he does *not* remind us was the beginning of Republican rule.*

The century closes, then, with the enemy's works "advancing instead of revancing." Better methods are called for. Since Alcohol Castle is protected, right and left, by two powerful parties, a more powerful, because more noble, party than either must rally a "third party" until it becomes a "*first* party," and so overthrow this stronghold of robbery. The evil which old parties protect, a new party must overthrow. Such a party is needed even to secure prohibition of the sale of intoxicating *beverages.* This is all we can aim for in legislation at present, but I believe the second century will do more than this. Alcoholic food and medicine will eventually follow alcoholic beverages into perpetual exile. From partial prohibition and partial abstinence, the van of the temperance army advances, at the opening of the new century of temperance conflict, to the only consistent line of fortifications—"*total* prohibition" and "*total* abstinence."

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* Lager beer in the United States scarcely had commenced its career when the Republican party came into prominence. The great brewing interest of the United States has become rich abreast of the Republican party. It had best not kill the goose which has laid it the golden eggs.—*New York Tribune's "Broadway Lounger."*

EPITAPH.—"The Republican party was born to free a million homes from the curse of slavery. It died because it had not the moral courage to free ten million homes from the curse of drink."

EPILOGUE.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CENTURY IN THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF ALCOHOL ILLUSTRATED BY CONTRASTING THE MOST ADVANCED POSITION OF CHEMICAL SCIENCE IN 1785, WITH THE MOST ADVANCED POSITION OF CHEMICAL SCIENCE IN 1885.

1785.*

BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM THE CELEBRATED ESSAY ON "The Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Body and Mind," by Benjamin Rush, M.D., of Philadelphia:

(The extracts given here are mostly such as show the points in the essay on which the van of medical science has advanced. The whole essay is published in "Temperance Pioneers," National Temperance Society, New York, 25 cents.)

"Fermented liquors contain so little spirit, and that so intimately combined with other matters, that they can seldom be drunken in sufficient quantities to produce intoxication and its subsequent effects without exciting a disrelish to their taste, or pain from their distending the stomach. They are, moreover, when taken in a moderate quantity, generally innocent, and often have a friendly influence upon health and life."

"But, it may be said, if we reject spirits from being a part of our drinks, what liquors shall we substitute in their room? I answer:

"1. SIMPLE WATER. . . . Persons who are unable to relish this simple beverage of nature may drink some one or of all the following liquors in preference to ardent spirits:

"2. CIDER. This excellent liquor contains a small quantity of spirit, but so diluted and blunted by being combined with a large quantity of saccharine matter and water as to be perfectly wholesome. It sometimes disagrees with persons subject to the rheumatism, but it may be made inoffensive to such people by extinguishing a red-hot iron in it or by mixing it with water.

"3. MALT LIQUORS. The grain from which these liquors are obtained is not liable, like the apple, to be affected by frost, and, therefore, they can be procured at all times, and at a moderate price. They contain a good deal of nourishment; hence we find many of the poor people in Great Britain endure hard labor with no other food than a quart or three pints of beer, with a few pounds of bread in a day. As it will be difficult to prevent small beer from becoming

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* 1099—*Regimen Sanitatis Salerni:*

If over night your drink has hit you,
Take a hair of the dog that bit you.

sour in warm weather, an excellent substitute may be made for it by mixing bottled porter, ale, or strong beer with an equal quantity of water; or a pleasant beer may be made by adding to a bottle of porter ten quarts of water and a pound of brown sugar or a pint of molasses. After they have been well mixed pour the liquor into bottles and place them, loosely corked, in a cool cellar. In two or three days it will be fit for use. A spoonful of ginger added to the mixture renders it more lively and agreeable to the taste.

"4. WINES. These fermented liquors are composed of the same ingredients as cider, and are both cordial and nourishing. The peasants of France, who drink them in large quantities, are a sober and healthy body of people. Unlike ardent spirits, which render the temper irritable, wines generally inspire cheerfulness and good-humor. It is to be lamented that the grape has not as yet been sufficiently cultivated in our country to afford wine for our citizens; but many excellent substitutes may be made for it from the native fruits of all the States. If two barrels of cider fresh from the press are boiled into one and afterward fermented and kept for two or three years in a dry cellar it affords a liquor which, according to the quality of the apple from which the cider is made, has the taste of Malaga or Rhenish wine. It affords, when mixed with water, a most agreeable drink in summer. I have taken the liberty of calling it POMONA WINE. There is another method of making a pleasant wine from the apple by adding four-and-twenty gallons of new cider to three gallons of syrup made from the expressed juice of sweet apples. When thoroughly fermented and kept for a few years it becomes fit for use. The blackberry of our fields and the raspberry and currant of our gardens afford likewise an agreeable and wholesome wine when pressed and mixed with certain proportions of sugar and water and a little spirit to counteract the disposition to an excessive fermentation. It is no objection to these cheap and home-made wines that they are unfit for use until they are two or three years old. The foreign wines in common use in our country require not only a much longer time to bring them to perfection, but to prevent their being disagreeable even to the taste."

"Valetudinarians, especially those who are afflicted with diseases of the stomach and bowels, are very apt to seek relief from ardent spirits. Let such people be cautious how they make use of this dangerous remedy. I have known many men and women of excellent characters and principles who have been betrayed by occasional doses of gin and brandy into a love of those liquors, and have after-

ward fallen sacrifices to their fatal effects. The different preparations of opium are much more safe and efficacious than distilled cordials of any kind in flatulent or spasmodic affections of the stomach and bowels. So great is the danger of contracting a love for distilled liquors by accustoming the stomach to their stimulus that as few medicines as possible should be given in spirituous vehicles in chronic diseases. . . . None of these remarks are intended to preclude the use of spirits in the low state of short, or what are called acute diseases ; for in such cases they produce their effects too soon to create an habitual desire for them."

"Smoking and chewing tobacco, by rendering water and simple liquors insipid to the taste, dispose very much to the stronger stimulus of ardent spirits. The practice of smoking cigars has, in every part of our country, been followed by a general use of brandy and water, as a common drink, more especially by that class of citizens who have not been in the habit of drinking wine or malt liquors. The less, therefore, tobacco is used in the above ways the better."

"It has been said that the disuse of spirits should be gradual ; but my observations authorize me to say that persons who have been addicted to them should abstain from them *suddenly* and *entirely*. 'Taste not, handle not, touch not,' should be inscribed upon every vessel that contains spirits in the house of a man who wishes to be cured of habits of intemperance. To obviate for a while the debility which arises from the sudden abstraction of the stimulus of spirits, laudanum, or bitters infused in water, should be taken, and perhaps a larger quantity of beer or wine than is consistent with the strict rules of temperate living. By the temporary use of these substitutes for spirits, I have never known the transition to sober habits to be attended with any bad effects, but often with permanent health of body and peace of mind."

1875.

Dr. N. S. Davis, *President of Chicago Medical College, ex-President of International Medical Congress, in Address to National Temperance Convention:* "Alcohol as found in any or all of the fermented and distilled drinks, is neither stimulating, strengthening, nor nourishing to the human system, but simply anæsthetic and sedative. Consequently, it cannot be used in health without injurious effects proportioned to the quantity used and the frequency of its repetition. Its applicability as a remedy in the treatment of disease is extremely limited ; so much so that it might be wholly dispensed with, without any injury to the sick, every intelligent physician being able to

supply its place with other remedies of equal, if not greater, value in the limited number of cases in which it is applicable."

1884.

[*Recent Editorials in Popular Science News and Boston Journal of Chemistry, J. R. Nichols, LL.D., Editor.*]

ALCOHOL.

As the result of the chemical change which sugar undergoes in passing downward toward a dead, inorganic condition, a substance is produced which has been the cause of more sorrow, crime, and suffering than all other evil agencies that have afflicted the world. It has caused tens of thousands of murders, and uncounted instances of robbery, theft, arson, incest, and suicide ; it has brought misery and want into millions of households ; it has filled almshouses and asylums with wretched victims ; it sends a never-ending procession of crime-stained men and women to prison and the gallows. What an awful indictment this is to bring against a substance which stands so closely allied in chemical relationships to innocent sugar ! Alcohol is not a natural product ; it can only result from a spontaneous change which is excited in saccharine liquids under the influence of a ferment. If in the order of things this chemical change had been impossible, the human race would have been saved from shedding tears, the aggregated volume of which reaches to that of a mighty river. But alas ! atoms of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen are permitted to group themselves in a way to form the maddening liquid ; and the great enemy to human happiness confronts us in all our domestic, industrial, and commercial relations. If, through disarrangement of nature's laws, the vinous fermentative process should suddenly cease, and not another drop of any kind of spirituous liquors be produced, no sensible harm would come to any industrial or art process, and no absolute want in medicine would be encountered. Carefully viewing the matter from the stand-points of the chemist, physician, and artisan, we unhesitatingly declare that the world in its present advanced stage has no need of alcohol ; it is simply convenient, but not necessary. Why not then make a determined effort to rid the country and the world of the monster ? Although alcohol results, as we have said, from spontaneous changes, yet the aid of man is necessary to form the various liquids containing it into attractive and permanent beverages. The fermentation of the juices of grapes and other fruits produces alcohol, but if let alone, nature will not allow the spirit to remain except for a brief space of time. Nature "abhors" not only "a vacuum," but manifestly one of her

products, for alcohol is so unstable in its attenuated combinations, that if left to itself it speedily runs down into the harmless form of acetic acid.

If man ceases to interfere in the series of natural changes which saccharine liquids spontaneously undergo, alcohol will not survive long enough to do mischief. Why not then compel the great army of men engaged in isolating and compounding the agent, to let it alone? Alcohol is a *poison;* it acts inharmoniously with vital processes in the animal organism. In its purest and best form, it slowly undermines the constitution, and hinders or arrests metamorphosis of tissues; in its vile associations, as presented in these modern times, it kills with the certainty and almost with the rapidity of strychnine and arsenic. We ask again, why not attempt to arrest its *production,* and thus strike a blow at the root of the evil? There is virtue and moral force enough in this country to *compel* Congress to pass laws prohibiting its *importation* in any form; and there is virtue and moral force enough in most, if not in all the States, to *compel* legislatures to enact laws prohibiting its *manufacture.* This is the point to which we must come, sooner or later. All the laws ever made, or that ever will be made, conjoined with all the prayers of all the well-intentioned women of the country, will never stop the gnawings of human appetite, or prevent its gratification, so long as rum, whiskey, wine, malt liquors, etc., are imported and manufactured under the sanction of law. Alcoholic beverages must *cease to exist,* before the world will be released from the terrible thraldom which they exercise over human appetite. In naming a remedy for the enormous evils caused by alcohol, nothing absurd or impracticable is associated with the suggestion, and the time is not far distant when the poison will be placed under a ban, as regards its importation and manufacture, which will give a forced emancipation to the tens of thousands of slaves now in subjugation to the monster.

SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS NOT NEEDED IN MEDICINE OR THE ARTS.*

If it can be conclusively shown that alcohol in no one of its forms is absolutely essential in the alleviation or removal of diseases, and that no useful industry is dependent upon it, that science and the arts would suffer no detriment in its absence, the most formidable bar to its utter banishment would be at once removed.

From the time when thinking, observing men became alarmed at the dreadful work which alcohol was accomplishing in the world, the

* April, 1884.

cry has been that it is an indispensable agent in its applications in medicine and the arts. There was more truth in this assumption fifty or even thirty years ago than at present, as science had not at those periods made sufficient advancement to supply substitutes for the alcoholic liquids. Vast changes have occurred in medicine, pharmacy, chemistry, and in all art processes, since the days of the early temperance reformers, and it is well to look about and ascertain our true position as regards the present necessity for the use of alcohol.

We have in this journal repeatedly spoken of the true relations of alcohol to medicine and the arts, and in every instance have declared that the need of it no longer existed ; that if the natural vinous fermentative process should cease, and the art of distillation become a "LOST ART," not a life would be sacrificed in consequence, not a case of disease would be retarded in the process of cure, not a pain would be aggravated, and not one of the art processes suffer detriment.

This view is based upon a familiar acquaintance with the uses to which alcohol is applied in the directions indicated—in pharmacy, chemistry, medicine, and in the various industries so essential to the welfare of the race. For a period of nearly half a century we have been brought into intimate association and participation in the scientific and art discoveries which have so signally distinguished our epoch, and therefore we venture to express views upon so important a topic. The question before us is not whether alcohol may not be sometimes convenient, or perhaps useful, but whether it is indispensable or necessary, in medicine and the arts.

The scope of the *News* is inadequate to discuss the matter in detail, and therefore at present we can only give a brief summary of the reasons which lead us to conclude that alcohol subserves no indispensable uses in the world. Its domestic or household applications are considerable in number, and regarded by some as important. In this direction, however, they are very much less than formerly, before science shed upon families a clearer light. Since it became known that alcoholic solutions of camphor, paregoric, cordials, tincture of peppermint, etc.—articles once found in every household—are remedial agents of doubtful efficacy, or positively hurtful under indiscriminate use, they have been to a large extent banished from dwellings. Camphor is a drug not needed in any family, save as an insecticide. The old camphor-bottle, containing rum and the drug, which exasperated and deluded men flourished in the face of Dr. Lyman Beecher when he commenced his temperance crusade fifty years ago, is a thing of the past. Rum or alcohol as an embrocation was formerly regarded as of the highest efficacy ; but it is now known

that hot or cold water is a much better application to inflamed surfaces. The external use of alcohol upon the human body under any conditions of disease is practically useless. It may serve to cool inflamed parts by rapid evaporation ; but warm water meets the same end, and more effectively. Alcohol in the forms of gin, brandy, whiskey, or wines, may be banished from families as domestic remedies, without risk to the welfare of a single member, of any age, sex, or condition.

It is well to remember that favorite aromatics, like peppermint, ginger, etc., are now associated with sugar in elegant forms, and are easily accessible to every one when needed.

The facetious Dr. Holmes has said, that if the contents of our drug-stores were taken out upon the ocean and thrown overboard, it would be better for the human race, but worse for the fishes. This statement may be a little sweeping ; but it is true that quite all the showy bottles in drug-stores which contain alcoholic decoctions and tinctures might be submerged in the ocean, and invalids would suffer no detriment. Since the active alkaloidal and resinoidal principles of roots, barks, and gums have been isolated, and put in better and more convenient forms, there is no longer need of alcoholic tinctures and elixirs. Laudanum, which is a tincture of opium, might be banished from the shelves of every apothecary, as it is not needed. It is now known that the valuable narcotic and hypnotic principles of opium are contained in certain crystalline bodies, which can be isolated, and used in minute and convenient forms, and that they can be held in aqueous solutions. Alcohol is no longer needed to hold the active principles of opium, Peruvian bark, or other indispensable drugs. As regards the vegetable tonics so-called, the best among them is the columbo (*Radix columbo*), and this readily yields its bitter principle to water, as do quassia, gentian, senna, rhubarb, and most other valuable substances. A careful survey of the contents of a well-appointed modern pharmacy leads to the conclusion that there is no one *indispensable* medicinal preparation which requires alcohol as a free constituent.

The catalogue of modern remedies is almost endless, and many of them hold alcohol in some form ; but every intelligent physician knows that ninety per cent of these alleged remedies have little or no intrinsic value. The nostrums of the quack, the bitters, elixirs, cordials, extracts, etc., nearly all contain alcohol, and this is the ingredient which aids in their sale. The whole unclean list might, with advantage to mankind, be thrown to the fishes.

The chemist, more particularly the pharmaceutical chemist, may

inquire how he is to conduct his processes without alcohol. It is from the pharmaceutical laboratory we derive some of the most important substances used in medicine and the arts. Among them may be named ether, chloroform, and chloral hydrate, three of the most indispensable agents known to science; and the employment of alcohol is essential to their production. Alcohol is a laboratory product; it is a chemical agent which belongs to the laboratory; it is the handmaid of the chemist, and, so long as it exists, should be retained within the walls of the laboratory. In the manufacture of most of the important products in which alcohol is either directly or indirectly used, its production may be made simultaneous with the production of the agent desired. In the manufacture of ether and chloroform, the apparatus for alcohol may be made a part of the devices from which the ultimate agents, ether and chloroform, result. Fermentation and distillation may be conducted at one end, and the anæsthetics received at the other. It is true, that, in a chemical laboratory, alcohol is an agent very convenient in a thousand ways. But if it was banished utterly, what would result? There are other methods of fabricating the useful products named, and many others, without the use of alcohol; but the processes would be rather inconvenient and more costly. The banishment of alcohol would not deprive us of a single one of the indispensable agents which modern civilization demands; neither would chemical science be retarded by its loss.

It must be remembered that modern science has given us glycerine, naphtha, bisulphide of carbon, pyroligneous products, carbolic acid, and a hundred other agents which are capable of taking the place of alcohol in a very large number of appliances and processes. The naturalist is no longer dependent upon alcohol for the preservation of his wonderful specimens; and the artisan no longer needs alcohol to obtain convenient heat for his tools, or to facilitate his labor; cheaper and equally good substitutes have been provided. Petroleum in its refined and perfected condition has taken the place of mixtures of alcohol and turpentine for obtaining artificial illumination; and alcohol for purposes of securing light and heat can never be again needed. It is only a quarter of a century since two million gallons of alcohol were consumed annually for illuminating purposes.

The perfumer employs alcohol in many of his products; but the question arises, "Have we need of the perfumer?" The man who fabricates one smell to cover up another may be a very useful artisan; but certainly he is in no sense indispensable. Aside from his "cologne" and odorous extracts, the perfumer can dispense with

alcohol, and, if its banishment should occur, our good ladies would not know of the event from meeting with any unsupplied wants at the perfumer's.

As regards the medicinal value of any of the spirituous liquors which are known in commerce, very much may be said. If all the brandies, whiskeys, wines, and malt liquors which now exist were suddenly destroyed, and there could be no further production, no class but dipsomaniacs would suffer any pain or distress for a single hour. If these beverages are sometimes useful as diffusible stimulants, they are oftener a bar to recuperation, no matter what may be the ailment.

In all cases of disease where an alcoholic stimulant seems to be indicated, science presents other stimulants, non-alcoholic, which may serve an equally useful purpose. The alcohol question as related to medicine may be summed up in a few words. In some cases of extreme exhaustion or debility, it may be regarded as a convenient agent, if carefully employed ; but in no instances of disease of any form is it a medicine which might not be dispensed with, and other agents substituted.

This view of the chemical and therapeutical needs and uses of alcohol, as related to the human family, is not presented from the standpoint of the temperance orator, but from that of the scientific investigator. We have often, for many years, taken a careful survey of the whole field, and speak with premeditation and knowledge. To present the subject properly, so that all aspects of the question may be fully brought under discussion, would require, as has been stated, much more space than is at present at command. We hope at some time, through another channel of communication, to discuss the matter exhaustively.

The recent movement of Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, in Congress, to secure the enactment of laws which will prohibit the manufacture and importation of alcoholic beverages, is a movement of the highest consequence to the welfare of our country. It may seem to many a chimerical scheme, unworthy of serious consideration ; but the evils of the free use of alcohol as a beverage are so enormous, so overwhelming, so fatal to the nation's prosperity and safety, that the matter ought no longer to be disregarded.

NOTE.—At my suggestion, the editor of *The Voice*, in 1885, sent Dr. Nichols's views to many eminent physicians for endorsement or criticism. A few dissent, but the verdict of endorsement carries both in number and weight.

II. HOW THE PAST TEACHES US TO DEAL WITH INTEMPERANCE AND OTHER EVILS IN GREAT CITIES.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, 1785 : The loss of four thousand American citizens by the yellow fever in a single year awakened general sympathy and terror, and called forth all the strength and ingenuity of laws to prevent its recurrence. Why is not the same zeal manifested in protecting our citizens from the more general and consuming ravages of distilled spirits? Should the customs of civilized life preserve our nation from extinction, and even from an increase of mortality, by those liquors, they cannot prevent our country being governed by men chosen by intemperate and corrupted voters. From such legislators, the Republic would soon be in danger. To avert this evil let good men of every class unite and besiege the general and State Governments with petitions to limit the number of taverns, to impose heavy duties upon ardent spirits, to inflict a mark of disgrace or a temporary abridgment of some civil right upon every man convicted of drunkenness, and, finally, to secure the property of habitual drunkards, for the benefit of their families, by placing it in the hands of trustees appointed for that purpose by a court of justice.

Daniel Webster, *July 4th*, 1802 : To preserve the Government we must also preserve a correct and energetic tone of morals. Liberty consists more in the habits of the people than in anything else. There are always men wicked enough to go to any lengths in the pursuit of power, if they can find others wicked enough to support them. Ambitious men must be restrained by the public morality ; when they rise up to do evil, they must find themselves standing alone. Morality rests on religion. If you destroy the foundation, the superstructure must fall.—*Christian Advocate, July 2d*, 1885.

Richard Cobden : The moral forces of the masses lie in temperance. I have no faith in anything apart from that movement for the elevation of the working-class.

Montalembert : Where there is a wine-shop there are the elements of disease and the frightful source of all that is at enmity with the best interests of the workingman.

Professor Austin Phelps : A man buried alive will beat the coffin-lids. So a great truth fermenting in the intuitions of ignorance and debasement, will not be smothered passively. It must work its way up to light and air. If there is no other way for its ascent, it will spout up volcanically.—"*Thoughts on Reforms,*" *in The Advance.*

Bishop Henry C. Potter : It is well to make the laboring man take a pledge ; but it would be better sometimes to make the landlord of the laboring man take a pledge also—a pledge to build better tenements with a less exclusive aim to an exorbitant percentage, and a more humane reference to the well-being of those who are to live in them.

THE PROBLEM OF GREAT CITIES IN REPUBLICS.

A STUDY BASED IN PART ON PERSONAL EXPLORATIONS IN THE SLUMS AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF BOSTON, CHICAGO, PARIS, BROOKLYN, AND NEW YORK.

THE Corresponding Secretary of the National Prison Association, Mr. W. M. F. Round, when at Saratoga, some time since, attending the annual meeting of the American Social Science Association, found himself one evening talking with a venerable member of that body in the parlor of the hotel, while the Association was holding a session in the adjoining hall. The Secretary expressed some surprise that his friend should be absent from the meeting. He replied: "*I stayed at home to read a book on social science that furnishes me with a solution of all the problems they discuss there.*"

Nearly all the societies which have been at all successful in dealing with pauperism, vice, and crime, have unconsciously acknowledged their dependence on that Book by the very mottoes they have adopted. The National Prison Association itself prints on a prominent page of its pamphlets the words of Jesus: "I was in prison and ye came unto Me." (Secretary Round, in the "Homiletic Review,"* shows that while the population of New York State has increased "but about twenty per cent" since 1880, the criminals have increased thirty-

* Feb., Mar., 1885.

three per cent *—a failure of our prison system which he attributes to the fact that "it is not dominated by the principles of the Gospel.") From the same Book the Florence Night Mission, of New York City, takes its watchword. Visiting the low dens of the city with its missionary, I heard a young thief, when invited to its evening meeting, reply, "*I work nights.*" Because so many of the Devil's employés and some good men "work nights," this Mission has been organized for night work, chiefly among fallen women. On one of the pages of its report I find this watchword: "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon." And the new White Cross Army, which has come to us from England, whose work is the complement of that just mentioned—to encourage purity of thought and word and deed in boys and young men—takes two of its mottoes from that Book: "Keep thyself pure." "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." (Its pledge against smutty talk is not superfluous for some who are no longer *young* men.) The most successful temperance societies are those whose dependence upon the "Christian" "Gospel" are stamped into their very names, and proclaimed by ribbons which speak of the blood of Calvary, and the purity of the pardoned, and the peace of heaven. The most efficient assault yet made upon pauperism and other problems of poverty, that of Charity Organization Societies, whose motto is, "Not alms, but a friend," is only an applica-

* General R. Brinkerhoff, in an article on "Prison Problems" (*Congregationalist*, July 2d, 1885), shows that the ratio of prisoners to the whole population of the country, if the census be correct, increased from 1 out of 3442 in 1850, to 1 out of 860 in 1870.

tion, as the *Independent* has shown, of an acted parable of the same Book—the story of Peter and John at the Gate Beautiful, where, instead of giving the beggar the alms he sought, they gave him a helping word and a helping hand to set him on his feet, a new man without and within, and capable of self-support. London's best answer to the "Bitter Cry" of its slums is the recent campaign of revivals all along the line, in which the dignified regulars of the State Church copied, with variations, the tactics of the Salvation Army, and sent their gowned processions of bishops, clergymen, and altar-boys singing litanies through their lowest streets, pausing often for proclamations of the Gospel.

It is a significant fact that although the Free Religionists, at their national Convention, a year or two since, at Watkins Glen, announced it as their lofty mission to provide "properly ventilated and drained houses," in reality not one of the fifty-cent pieces paid for the privilege of hearing their missionary (?) addresses is heard from in the sanitary improvements of our cities. One New York society of Free Religionists has recently shown some interest in tenement-house reform—good as far as it goes—but the Superintendent of the City Missions of New York, who knows more of its charitable work than any other man, writes me that he is unable to name one charitable institution in the city, of ten years' standing, which was instituted and has been supported by those who reject the Bible. Mr. Ingersoll raises a laugh among his shallow hearers by asking, in substance: "If a man, just come to town, found himself in want, would he go for help to a Presbyterian deacon?" It would have been appropriate to answer: "Perhaps not, if, like most infidels, he did not know enough about Christianity to be aware of the fact that deacons disburse

the charitable offerings of Christians, but he would surely have *asked for a minister*, not for an infidel." One of the sad facts brought out by the recent biography of George Eliot, whose offences pain us like a sister's, is that she ceased the charitable work to which, in her Christian days, she had been devoted, when she entered the Iceland of infidelity. What the London *Athenæum* calls "the great lapse that overshadowed her life to the end" could not have continued for a quarter of a century if she had not previously lapsed from her loyalty to the Bible.

Those who resist the Bible are not only incapacitated for charitable work, but also for efficient service in the field of morals. At a recent club dinner in Boston, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, son of the great emancipationist, in answer to the question, "What religion can Liberals give their children?" said, "More than all else that troubles me in the ethical education of my children is the animalism that is engendered by materialistic thought. It would pain me little to have them embrace Calvinism with conscience, compared with entertaining liberal ideas and lax morals." (Boston letter of *Christian Union*, March 5th, 1885.)

Of the reform work, and the four millions of dollars given annually for charities in New York City, Free Religionists doubtless contribute something as individuals, but the bulk of the work and the gifts is from those who have learned social science from the Bible, without whose support New York would have as meagre charities as cultured Rome before the Gospel put hospitals in place of arenas, and stopped the wholesale abandonment of babes, and the worship of lust.

All successful movements against pauperism, vice, and crime, have come at last to the Bible platform, that per-

manent reform cannot be accomplished by a change of surroundings alone, by better clothes, or better tenements, but *only by a change in the man himself*, the displacing of the laziness, cowardice, appetite, and covetousness, which are the roots of degradation, by "work, education, kindness, industrial training in the public schools, and, most of all, the Gospel." "*Make the tree good, and his fruit good*" (Matt. 12 : 33).

Mr. C. S. Wingate, the eminent sanitary engineer, is reported by the New York *Observer* to have said that the surroundings of the filthy and ignorant in the slums are "foul and unhealthy not more from necessity than from choice." This Ulyssian crew must be raised from piggishness to manhood or it is useless to remove them from their pig-pens to parlors. When Christ proclaimed His mission of charity to prisoners and unfortunates, the very foundation of His relief work was, "to preach the Gospel to the poor" (Luke 4 : 17). At another time He said, "From *within*, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness" (Mark 7 : 21, 22). Since these come from "within" they must be healed from "within."

This same Book of social science affords the best solution of what Wendell Phillips used to say was the greatest problem of our free institutions—the management of

GREAT CITIES IN REPUBLICS,

which is hardly second to any of the great questions which challenge our attention as patriots and Christians.

Principles applying to this theme may be found in the book of Jonah. Dr. John Hall once said to an audience of theological students that the minister who should open

up the beauties and treasures of the Minor Prophets would be doing for the Bible what Livingstone and Stanley had done for the world in exploring Central Africa. What the nations of Europe recently regarded as little more than the lair of "savage beasts and still more savage men" is now found to be a new world of commercial importance, worthy of diplomatic conquest. So the Minor Prophets will be found "profitable" not only "for instruction in righteousness," but also in social science.

My theme will resemble an exploration of Central Africa in a darker sense, for it will be a study of the *savages* of our cities, not "heathen" in ignorance of the Gospel, but in their controlling *animalism*. Let us do no less than we *are* doing for distant savages, but more for those that constitute the Central Africa of every large city.

No picture of home degradation can be a valid argument for curtailing our gifts to foreign missions. They pay five times as many conversions in proportion to the money invested as the home churches (*Presbyterian Foreign Missionary*, April, 1885, p. 500). The Presbytery of New York is having a much smaller percentage of growth than the Presbytery of North China, which was recently reported in the *Congregationalist* as having an annual increase of forty-eight per cent. Dr. Reid, Secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society, has shown that if home work was as fruitful in soul-saving as foreign work in proportion to the money invested, every church whose expenses are ten thousand dollars a year would swarm a new church of three hundred members annually.

The book of Jonah narrates how God saved a great and wicked city. The sneers of infidels in connection

with this book proclaim their habitual shallowness. That Jonah's Creator preserved him alive for three days in the body of "a great sea monster"—there being sharks to-day in these very waters which are known to be capable of swallowing a man whole—is a trifling miracle compared with the other two that are beside it, which infidels have overlooked—a foreign missionary book in the midst of the Old Testament, and the conversion of a whole city by the efforts of one earnest preacher.

The first record of the book is that *God saw* the wickedness of the city. There is comfort in that. There is also, perhaps, a little indirect comfort in finding that even one of God's prophets had as little interest in foreign missions as some of us. Jonah felt that God's sending away a minister to a foreign city when there was so much wickedness at home was a mistake. Like some modern Christians he reasoned when he should have obeyed. God ordered him eastward, and he took passage westward on a ship bound for Spain. God arrested him by a gale, and imprisoned him in a shark until he was ready to obey. Raised as from the dead he went on to Nineveh, an embodiment of the duty of every one who is risen with Christ to proclaim the great salvation to others, in whatever field God has chosen for him, public or private, native or foreign. What a rebuke to those who can do nothing in city mission work without by-laws, salary, organization, is Jonah marching on Nineveh as "an army of one" to prove what individual effort can do in solving the problem of municipal wickedness. In him, as in others since, that promise of God, "One shall chase a thousand," becomes incarnate. City mission work needs nothing more than such incarnations. Every up-town church should at least support a down-town missionary or visitor. More than that, its

LAYMEN,

whom none will think impelled by office or salary,* should go into the heathen Nineveh which is at their doors, armed with the Gospel, devoting leisure hours to work for Christ and humanity, which is so unlike their work for gain, and so full of the happiness that comes by usefulness, as to be the subtlest rest. There is surely a very wide contrast between the laymen of our city churches to-day and the laymen of the early Church, whose Deacon Philip went down to the slums of Palestine, to Samaria, and preached Christ unto them; whose Deacon Stephen was not content to manipulate Church moneys, but was also "mighty in the Scriptures;" and whose private members "went everywhere preaching the Word." If every Christian in America followed that pattern, there would be a home missionary for every four persons in the land. "Would God that *all* the Lord's people were prophets, and that He would put His Spirit upon them!" God gives not only to every church its work, and to every minister his work, but especially "*to every man his work.*" Are you doing yours? Are you earnestly working your pastorate of four? Infidelity can say nothing so severe against our Christianity as our own statistics when a church with hundreds of members leads to Christ but a score in a year. We need another revival, like that of Wesley's and Whitefield's time, of *lay* preaching and *lay* testimony. *That* would do much to solve the problem of great

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* Such a layman was asked by a poor man whom he visited if he was not a missionary, and if he was a gentleman, what had brought him there. When he replied that it was the love of Christ that brought him, the man replied, "Then there is something a precious sight more real in religion than I gave it credit for."

cities. Theological seminaries must be supplemented by scores of "schools for Christian workers," that is, for laymen, such as Mr. Moody and others have organized in Springfield and Chicago. The New York City Mission has begun such a school for training lady visitors. It affords a chance for "finished" young ladies to make their French and Italian useful. Such training schools for lay work ought to be started in every State. The Nineveh of "heathen at home" in each of our cities is not to be conquered by waiting for them to come to the prophets, but by the prophets, clerical and lay, going for them, without waiting for any better commission than Jonah had from God. America can certainly learn something from England in regard to outdoor preaching, in which such leaders as the Bishop of Liverpool and the Earl of Shaftesbury there participate. Personal visiting among the degraded is yet more important. A few hours which I spent with a city missionary in the lowest "dives" of New York City, in a region which he called "the end of the race," resulted in bringing four persons out of those dens of the Devil to the meetings of that night and the next, two of them declaring that 'they had come out to stay, by God's help.' Such work is only paying what we owe God to those whom He has appointed to receive it. "I am *debtor* both to the Greeks and to the barbarians; both to the wise and to the unwise" (Rom. 1 : 14).

It is very difficult to do Christian work as a visitor among up-town church-neglecters, but he who comes to the poor in Christ's name finds everywhere "an open door" and a respectful hearing. Our "heathen at home" are nearly all intellectually familiar with Christianity, and in their filth have profound respect for purity. The entrance of a missionary into the lowest

dens hushes the wildest revelry. In visiting one hundred and thirty-eight homes of the poor in Brooklyn, in 1882, as a volunteer distributor for the American Bible Society (a work undertaken chiefly as a study of poverty), I found a suggestion of the heathenism that is at our very doors, in the fact that in eighty-four of those homes, mostly Protestant, there was no Bible. In the light of these facts let us read anew the words of Christ commending those who visited Him by visiting His despised and needy ones—"I was sick and ye visited Me."

SUPREME IMPORTANCE OF CITY MISSIONS.

It is not to be overlooked that God sent Jonah *not to the villages of Assyria, but to its chief city.* That is the Bible plan of missions. Paul devoted his missionary life chiefly to planting churches in the great capitals of the Roman Empire, such as Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. So much was the rural population ignored in favor of these great centres of influence, that the word "pagans," which at first meant only *countrymen*, came to signify all who were not Christians. For the same reason country people were excepted from the provisions of Europe's first Sunday law. Paul put the Gospel leaven in the great cities as the surest and swiftest way to permeate the whole empire at last.

American home missionary societies have very largely overlooked or disregarded this Scriptural precedent. Most of the home missionary churches are planted in towns which will always be very small, and many of them in places where there were already evangelical churches and pastors enough to take care of all the population, if sectarianism had been put aside. Meantime there has been discovered in New York State, a city of about fifty thousand inhabitants, the majority of them

English-speaking, and two fifths of them Protestants, in which there has not been an English-speaking Protestant church for twelve years—the only Protestant church having German services.* A twin city is found in Illinois, only its fifty thousand people have one small English-speaking Protestant church, and two small German churches. The Devil has, however, bountifully provided, in the first case, one saloon for every 119 people, and in the second case, one for every 191.

I have also discovered in New York State fifty cities of about ten thousand inhabitants each, which have but two Protestant churches apiece, many of these very small and feebly manned, for lack of funds. There are six other cities of about seven thousand inhabitants each which have but one church apiece. All over the land there are hundreds of small cities of three and four thousand population each, which have but one Protestant church apiece.

Putting these facts with two others—namely, that New Hampshire has a church for each five hundred persons (which means, counting out babes and the sick and non-churchgoers, a church for each two hundred attendants), and that there are evangelical preachers enough in the land to allow one to each seven hundred and twenty-nine persons, it is evident that there has been blundering somewhere in the distribution of ministers and churches.

Where is that neglected city of Illinois? In the heart of Chicago.† Where are these neglected cities of New York State? Between the doors of the Congregational Home Missionary Society and those of the Presbyterian

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* Since this lecture was delivered one English-speaking church has been built.

† E. P. Goodwin, D.D., in *Christian Union*, March 19th, 1885, names a district of 50,000 population in Chicago, where the Protestant churches are 1 to 16,666, and the saloons 1 to 191.

Home Missionary Society in New York City,* except the cities of seven thousand inhabitants, which are in the Sixteenth Ward of Brooklyn.† Where are the little cities which have only one fourth or sixth of their share of the churches? *In the great cities*, most of which have an average of one Protestant church to three or four thousand people—*e.g.*, 3750 in New York City. Chicago has one evangelical church to each 4117 souls (*Independent*, March 12th, 1885).

RAPID INCREASE OF CITIES.

It is time for a new departure or a new return to Pauline methods, with larger attention to the cities, which, in 1920, in the lifetime of our young people, will rule this land for good or ill by the power of majority votes.

In 1790 less than four of each hundred of our people lived in cities. In 1840 the city population had increased to eight per cent. In 1885 it is twenty-two. (American Almanac for 1884, p. 73.) Even now New York City can outvote any one of twenty States, as there are only seventeen States which have a larger population. Only four States (New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Pennsylvania) exceed New York City in wealth, says its *Tribune*. Even now, with less than a quarter of the people, the concentrated city populations have in some States and in many counties a controlling power. In Georgia eighty counties have local prohibition, but it has been secured in but one county where there is any considerable city. Prohibition exists to-day

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* Leaflet on "Churches for the People," issued by New York City Missionary Society.

† *The Voice*, March 19th, 1885, only six churches of all kinds.

in five States, but not one of them has a large city. Seventeen States, at the dictation of rum-ruled cities, have recently refused to allow the people to vote whether they will have Constitutional Prohibition or not. In those States it is not a question of the *future* whether the growth of cities will destroy the republican form of government. In those States the government is already an oligarchy, a government of liquor-dealers by liquor-dealers and for liquor-dealers. What of the time when the eighth successor to President Cleveland is elected by a people of whom a clear majority live in cities?

I do not forget that

THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS

have their faults. They are not in danger of being mistaken for "The Better Country." The commandments against gossip and vice and fraud are not superfluous even among farmers and their families. It is suggestive that a countryman thought that a man who could "swap horses" and not cheat was about as near perfection as men get in this world. But the country does give us much more than its proportion of our respected and influential men. *That* I have proved by investigating the antecedents of five hundred of them. Its votes are surely less influenced by demagogues and demijohns than those of the cities. In most of the States the country rules the cities by the strong majorities. Paris may be France, but Chicago is not yet Illinois. Nearly four fifths of our law-makers were elected by village and country ballots.

THE CITIES TO BE OUR RULERS.

But the sceptre is in this generation to pass to the cities. Good citizens, both in city and country, should

be interested to prepare the future ruler for his high trust. Joseph Cook has well said that if Queen Victoria had died while the Prince of Wales was sowing his wild oats, the British monarchy would have died with her. If our cities cannot be reformed and emancipated from their subjection to pauperism, vice, and crime, and if the saloon shall be, in the day of the city's supremacy, still the power behind the throne, the Republic will die when the sceptre passes from our rural queen to the city prince. Rome will burn when a fiddling Nero gets the throne.

The British Social Science Congress, and the Secretary of the Bowery Branch of the New York City Y. M. C. A., and the Children's Aid Society of the same city, and others, are seeking to turn the tide of population from the overcrowded tenement districts to the villages and farms. Something may be done for individuals, by building associations, such as flourish in Chicago, by which even laborers, by a weekly deposit of their little savings, are enabled to own a home of their own in the suburbs; and especially by sending children into the country, and so giving them thirteen per cent better chance of success than even the average city boy possesses. But our Babylons of pauperism, vice, and crime cannot be conquered by turning aside the river of population which flows so strongly into the cities, for the simple reason that the river cannot be turned aside. In spite of crowded homes, the people love the excitements and sins of city life. Other solutions of the problem of great cities than transportation of the poor to the country must be devised.

Even in monarchies, the problem of great cities, the problem of pauperism, vice, and crime, is to-day foremost of patriotic and Christian issues. In the British

Social Science Congress, a few months ago; in the recent annual meetings of the Church of England; and in those of the British Congregationalists, these questions had a large, if not the largest, place. Much more was it fitting that it should be so at the last anniversary of the American Home Missionary Society. So, in press and pulpit, the great national, social, and religious question is, "How shall we save the cities, and so the Republic?" The question is proclaiming itself in such dynamite tones that the dullest and most indifferent must hear. It is said that when the heavy guns of the Kittery Navy-yard were just completing the thirty-seven sunset guns of Washington's birthday, in honor of the thirty-seven States, a very deaf woman, living in the neighborhood, looked up from her knitting and said, "Come in." Dull indeed is the mind which is not aroused to the importance of considering the growth of the dangerous classes in our cities when their dynamite is heard at our very doors. The professed anarchists are not as yet numerous in America—in New York, says the *Tribune*, "Not seven thousand, but less than two hundred." Atrocitists are fewer still. But there are three hundred thousand habitual criminals in the country, three fourths of them free (W. M. F. Round, in *Homiletic Review*, January, 1885, p. 30). The recent riot in Cincinnati showed that its overcrowded tenements were the lair of ten thousand tigers. New York has eighty thousand such, says the *Christian Union*, with nothing to lose and everything to gain by disorder. The riots of 1863 and 1877 are but hints of what *might be*, if hunger should set the match to prevailing discontent. During the early part of our late war, when the British Parliament, affronted by our seizure of Mason and Slidell, was considering a motion for war, the debate was brought to

a sudden close by the remark of a member, "Gentlemen, if you declare war with the United States there isn't money enough in England to supply the people with bread." There is no arguing with hunger. If by refusing to protect "honest poverty" in its right to fair share in the profits of its faithful work; in its right to Sabbath rest; in its right to a share in the advantages of modern machinery in shortened hours of toil; if, by neglecting to do this, we glut the markets and drive men into the Devil's workshop of inactivity, after giving them no chance to lay by a part of their meagre wages; if we thus drive "honest poverty" into alliance with pauperism, vice, and crime, and if our churches continue to desert the poor, and so the poor the Church, then what can stand before the avalanche? The recent avalanche in the Alps would not have swept the villages and hamlets before it if the people had not recklessly cut away the forest trees which were known to be necessary guards to resist the charges of the mountain snows. The contentment and Christianity of our great middle class and of "honest poverty" are our security against the avalanches of the anarchists which aim at the destruction of government, society, family, and Christianity. Let not these forests be destroyed by the greed of commerce or the neglect of the Church.

Ruskin began his recent lectures at Oxford with the following proposition: "I ask you to-day to begin the examination with me, very earnestly, of the question whether London, as it is now, be indeed the natural, and therefore the heaven-appointed, outgrowth of the inhabitation, these 1800 years, of the valley of the Thames by a progressively instructed and disciplined people; or if not, *in what measure and manner the aspect and spirit of the great city may be possibly altered by your acts and*

thoughts?" The last is the practical part of the question—*What can I do toward bettering the city?* Here again we turn for principles to the divine Handbook of Social Science and to the story of Nineveh.

Again we find Jonah a man of like passions with ourselves in that he thought the Ninevites such

"HARD CASES"

that they were beyond redemption. There were no prison reform notions about him. The "outraged majesty of law" called for their punishment. When, as he entered that great city—about the same population as Cincinnati, but sixty miles about in area, that is, four times as large as Philadelphia—thus spread out to accommodate the vast gardens about the houses—figures at which sceptics sneered until exploration verified the Bible's accuracy—he was surprised that his call to repentance was at once heeded by all the people, from king to peasant.

They remembered what they had learned of Jehovah's power when He smote their army under General Sennacherib, but they had also heard of His mercy to the penitent, and with fasting and tears they sought and found pardon—reminding us that the heathen Ninevites of our great cities, wicked as they are, are *not heartless.* The Chinese have a saying that "to some hearts have been given, and *to some gizzards.*" Those who have worked longest among the degraded say that the roughest vagabond has a heart, if you will but search for it with the keys of kindness and sympathy.

Secretary Round, of the Prison Association, says: "I never look into the face of a prisoner, no matter how much the manhood's strength and hope have been crushed out of him, but I say to myself, 'There *is a*

man in you'" (*Homiletic Review*, February, 1885, p. 110).

In a cell of a Scottish prison sat a criminal whose hair was clotted with blood, the result of blows received in a murderous quarrel for which he had been arrested. His face was full of sullen agony. The chaplain had tried to pray and talk with him, in vain. A Christian lady visitor wished to make the effort to do him some good, but the chaplain said, "It's no use. You ought to hear him swear." "No, I wouldn't like to, but there must be some good in him." "Well, I'll take you to his cell. Here's a woman, John. Now mind your manners." The prisoner turned his back sullenly on the chaplain, but presently glanced around at the lady, with a half-indifferent curiosity in his look. The lady said, "Sorry you suffer so." Her face and voice were both full of sympathy. "Mortal bad, mum." "I suppose your worst time is at night?" "Yes, terrible, mum." "Can I do anything for you?" "Nobody does anything for me but knock me about the jail." "It might be worse. Can I watch with you?" "Wonderful goodness in you, mum, but you wouldn't, would you? I have no friends." "Don't say that. I am your friend." "*You*, a friend to *me?*" And the rough man kept whispering, "Friend to me?" "Friend to—me?" Then the noble woman said, "There is another Friend that you have." "Who might you mean?" "Jesus." "No, He's not my Friend. I'm going to Hell." "He came to save men from Hell." "But I've been mortal bad." "He came to save the lost." The turnkey cried, "Time's up." The lady, as she turned to go, said to the prisoner, "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin." The rough man repeated it slowly over and over again: "The blood—of Jesus

Christ—cleanseth—from all sin," and something seemed to echo the promise down in his heart, until, with the morning, came forgiveness and hope to that soul—the morning of an honest life.

"It was pound, pound, pound on the bar holding up the stove grate that it might be forced into its place. But no heavy hammer blows could accomplish the work. How we puffed over that bar. One might as well have rapped with a toy-hammer on the base of a pier of the Brooklyn Bridge to force it into the East River. But when we took a file, and mildly, patiently rubbed down one end of the bar, lo, into its appointed socket went that rebellious iron. Little file-strokes had done it." The pounding of legislatures and courts and police does not seem to accomplish much on the problem of pauperism, vice, and crime. It does not even prevent its increase. Our nation to-day has no equals in the crimes of violence, except Italy and Spain. It is time we learned to make larger use of the gentle file-strokes of Christian charity and the Gospel.

Not that we can get along without the hammer of the law.

We want more and better laws to co-operate with the Gospel in solving this problem.

WHAT CAN LEGISLATURES DO

toward solving the problem of pauperism, vice, and crime in our great cities?

I. Prisons should be reformed

in at least three particulars: (1) Witnesses and untried prisoners should not be treated as if guilty, nor long de-

tained by needless judicial delays, even if more justice makes it necessary to appoint more judges. (2) All convicted prisoners should be confined long enough to enable them to learn *a whole trade*, if unskilled, and the rudiments of education, if ignorant, and the principles of morality, by teaching and wholesome reading. (3) Reformation, not revenge, should be clearly shown to be the purpose of society in its imprisonments, after the fashion of the admirable Elmira Reformatory. Let the watchword of the prison system, "Make an example of him," be changed to that more Christian one, "Make a man of him." The Tombs Prison, of New York, with its heavy Egyptian architecture, fairly represents the fact that American county prisons are more Egyptian than Christian, and worthy of a Pharaoh. Another Howard is needed to make them reformatory instead of demoralizing.

II. Better health laws

should be secured. New York is now well baited to catch the cholera. Its invitation to the foreign monster is written in filth so plainly that he may read who runs. If a great fire was moving through the city, great buildings would be blown up, if necessary, to stop its onward march. Why, then, does not the Legislature or the city government order the death of all houses with an unnatural death-rate? The death-rate of our twenty-six thousand tenements averages 56.5 per 1000, three times the average for the nation. Many tenements are literally "death-traps." New York averages twice as many persons to a house as any other city in the land (*Methodist Review*, March, 1885, p. 303). Two thirds of its population are in overcrowded tenements. "How some of our suffering poor manage to exist in their un-

sanitary homes is a mystery," says the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (Report for 1884). It is a greater "mystery" that law-makers and law-enforcers tolerate such cancers in the body politic. "Model tenements at cheap rentals exist and will pay," says the same report. Landlords should be allowed to rent no others. The New York Society for the Improvement of Workingmen's Homes has proved that "model lodging-houses," with beds at fifteen cents each, and breakfasts at five cents, may be made self-supporting. One of these may be seen at 404 Pearl Street, New York. They should be multiplied. Let the hook and ladder companies be ordered out to pull down the "rear houses" and all others whose death-rate is abnormal, or in which there is no provision for decency. Give the fire companies the extra privilege of bestowing compulsory baths on "the great unwashed" and their filthy rooms. Children who will not wash themselves should be washed by others, even if they are grown-up children. Government must be "paternal" with those of its subjects who are "intellectual minors." Compulsory cleanliness is as reasonable as compulsory education. By all means let our law-makers order a water-cure for our slums. Such a measure would make a suitable amendment to the new law of New York ordering the construction in the metropolis of clean municipal lodging-houses and eating-houses under control of the Board of Charities and Corrections, where those who will wash and work may eat and sleep. Another New York plan to improve the condition of the *tenement-house* population is the appointment of a corps of visiting physicians, fifty in number. They distribute excursion tickets to the sick, give advice and medicines. They are also empowered to act as sanitary inspectors. A

Citizens' Association for tenement-house reform, after the fashion of those which have secured reforms of municipal politics, would be better still.* Nothing less can ward off the cholera.

III. The people ought to be better protected against

PROFESSIONAL BEGGARY.

The persons reported to the Charity Organization Society of New York as receiving charitable aid in one recent prosperous year (from March, 1882, to March, 1883), supposing each one to have received aid for a family of four—a small average †—represented a population equal to Washington, or Buffalo, or Pittsburg. Most of these were comparatively worthy, but an equally large city of professional beggars fills our streets with its "runners," and gathers, by persistency and fear, much of the charity that is needed for "honest poverty." As every maimed person and every one worthy of aid is provided for in New York City by the Board of Chari-

* The interest in the question of housing the English poor is taking practical shape. Lord Salisbury has introduced a bill into Parliament which deals with two of the great classes of the evils connected with the tenement-house system. The new measure goes so far as to put into the hands of a tenant the power to redress his own grievances. One clause reads: "Any person letting a house and not taking proper and reasonable precautions that it is healthy, will be held to have broken the contract, and will be held liable just as a railroad company is for illness and death, so far as it is due to his own negligence."

† Rev. S. B. Halliday, assistant pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, says: "Within the past fifty years I have taken the census of districts repeatedly—including every family contained in the district—in cities, squares or blocks of dwellings, and in the country neighborhoods; and I never took a census where they could be made to reach four and three-quarters, but always a fraction over four and a half."

ties and Corrections and other charities easily accessible, and by similar boards and societies in other cities, all begging from door to door or in the street should be *entirely suppressed*, perhaps by the plan successfully followed by Count Rumford in Bavaria, a few years since, where the police, in citizens' dress, bagged all the beggars of Munich in an hour by a simultaneous movement, which was followed by compulsory lodgment in metropolitan barracks, where they were good-naturedly taught the sweets of cleanliness and industry.

IV. It goes without saying that legislatures which sincerely desire to cut the chief root of the deadly upas-tree whose branches are pauperism, vice, and crime, three fourths of which is indisputably due to the sale of alcoholic liquors, will *enact or allow the people to enact some form of*

PROHIBITION,

local prohibition, statutory prohibition, or Constitutional prohibition, which are related as good, better, best. License, high or low, is always and only *bad*. High license may sometimes reduce the number of saloons (not often does it accomplish even that), but I challenge any one to show that it has ever, in a hundred years of experiments, reduced the amount of drinking or of drunkenness. When London was listening to the "Bitter Cry" of its slums, a well-known worker among its poor wrote: "In this hour of interest and sympathy, we might combine to remove the dwellers of the slums into homes containing all the comfort and beauty of palaces, but if we left standing near at hand the reeking drink-shops, in half a year the new homes would be as squalid, as foul, as hideous every way as the herding-places of the slums are to-day."

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS.

V. Our law-makers should be especially careful to make adequate *laws to prevent the children from growing up to swell the ranks of pauperism, vice, and crime.* There is wonderful pathos in what God said to Jonah as a final word, when the prophet was vexed because the wicked city had been forgiven instead of punished: "Should I not spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand?" God's pity on Nineveh's children—He had taken their census and found it one hundred and twenty thousand—is especially beautiful and suggestive. For the children's sake let us save the city. Every State should have the following laws for the protection of its childhood, especially in the great cities:

(1) A law, like that of California, requiring all children to be in their homes when curfew rings at nine P.M. (2) A law, like that of North Carolina and New York, forbidding the exposure in sight of any minor of any paper filled chiefly with pictures or records of crime. (Why don't our daily papers take so broad a hint as to what is wholesome reading?) (3) A law, like that of Mississippi, New Jersey, Nebraska, and New York, forbidding the selling of tobacco to children and youth. Let us save the children from the giant-killer which has slain Senator Carpenter, Senator Hill, and the greatest general of the age. Superintendent Bennett, of Piqua, Ohio, has been investigating the extent to which tobacco is used by boys in city schools. He finds that in two grades of seventy-three boys from twelve to fifteen years old, thirty-one habitually smoked cigarettes, and only seven could say they had never

smoked. Of ninety-six boys from ten to twelve there were sixty-eight smokers. In the primary schools, of boys from six to ten, forty per cent smoked, and even in the A B C class many had begun the practice.

REFORM BY EDUCATION.

(4) A law requiring instruction in the laws of health, especially in regard to alcohol and tobacco, in the public schools.

This movement should be carried further. "Medical Talks," after the fashion of the Y. M. C. A., should be given in all public schools and in halls among the poor. The clergymen of Philadelphia have recently been requested to devote a sermon or two to the duty of keeping cholera out of their people's homes by cleansing the cellars, but doctors could speak with more authority. Doctors should be doctors—that is, *teachers*, not simply *dosers* and *physic*-ians, working even more to preserve the public health than to patch it, instructing parents and others for that prevention which is better than cure. So lawyers should be more employed for prevention, and so less for punishment. In every public school not only hygienic laws, but civil laws should be explained, to lighten the burden of the courts. With such a preventive there would hardly have been thirteen thousand two hundred and ninety-eight arrests of boys and girls under fourteen years of age, in New York City in 1884.

This compulsory moral education should also include the laws of morals, as founded in conscience and in God. The popular notion that intellectual education alone has any large influence in preventing vice and crime will not stand an hour before prison statistics. Only four per cent of those who were arrested in New York City in

1884 could not read or write. The same was true of a recent year in Brooklyn. Seven per cent of the inmates of the Auburn Prison are liberally educated. If cholera comes to preach to us of righteousness, temperance, and judgment, many an educated up-town Felix will tremble at the peril of his vice-shattered nerves. Not a few of the carrion-loving hyenas who delight in the fallen woman's house of death are persons of more than average education. The rapidly increasing army of American opium-eaters, already half a million strong, includes many whose education is deficient only on the moral side. Of the New York arrests in 1884 three hundred and sixty-nine claimed to be of the learned professions. At the last analysis, the watchword of Wall Street's educated gamblers in stocks and of Mulberry Street beggars is the same—"Something for nothing." The Prison Superintendent of the State of New York said in his report for 1884: "Intellectual training, the education of the understanding, is not preventive of criminal conduct." All these facts cry out for *moral* education in our public schools, that they may not continue to be whetstones for knaves.

The seventy per cent of our population who are members and adherents of evangelical churches, and so have a controlling voice in this country, are responsible for the increasing evils they have allowed to come upon the land by forbidding or neglecting moral education in the public schools through a foolish fear of being thought illiberal. The recent utterances of the Methodist and Romanist Councils at Baltimore, each condemning Sabbath-desecration and liquor-selling, and many other evils, suggests that a text-book of morals, with their necessary religious foundation in Christ and the Bible, might be made which would be acceptable to both Romanists and

Protestants, to be memorized and recited by the pupils, without comments by the teachers. Those who accept Christ and the Bible as the divine expression of true morality are a large majority of the population, and there can be no good reason why the safety of the State should be imperilled to please the few others, for whom it were better to have separate schools than to neglect moral education.

(5) Among needed laws for the protection of children should be mentioned also a law far better than that of New York on compulsory education, requiring the attendance of all children under fifteen years of age at some school during the whole school year, and forbidding all labor of such children during school hours in mercantile or manufacturing establishments. The present over-production is but one of the evil results of child-labor. With all our machinery, the men and unmarried women can surely do all the work that is needed. A significant warning against putting children too early into business is the fact that three hundred and sixty-nine errand boys and messengers were arrested in New York City in 1884. That industrial training should be a part of compulsory education is shown, among other things, by the fact that more than thirty thousand of those arrested in New York in 1884 did not even claim to have a trade or profession, being recorded in part as "laborers," and the others as having "no occupation." Even the children of wealth should, in public schools or otherwise, be trained to the self-support which a change of fortune may at any time make necessary. Such a training will not be lost even if it should not be used in after life, for it will have furnished valuable physical and mental discipline.

(6) Every State should also have a law, like that of

Illinois (better than the absurdly inadequate one of New York), forbidding the

SALE OF LIQUOR TO MINORS.

The Illinois law protects the young until twenty-one years of age, before which time three fifths of those in New York's Christian Home for Intemperate Men began their drinking career, suggesting that half at least of the drunkards would never have begun to drink at all if they had been protected through the years of indiscretion. The boys of New York, says a city missionary, often begin to drink at fourteen and sixteen. One of those now in the Christian Home for Intemperate Men began at thirteen. Let the law protect them to their majority at least. No other law can be enforced so easily in a great city as a law whose watchword is, "Save the boys."

(7) A BETTER LAW OF MARRIAGE

is also needed as a protection to the young, whose early elopements and early divorces are becoming alarmingly common. Those who contend most earnestly that the former times were not better than these, unanimously make an exception in the matter of divorces. In some States they are one fifth as numerous as the marriages ;*

* The diminution of marriages in some of the best States of the Union is becoming a most serious matter. In Massachusetts, of every 1000 inhabitants in 1850–60, 21 married ; now only 17. In Connecticut, while the population has increased 56 per cent during the last decade, marriages have increased but 34 per cent. In Providence, R. I., while the number capable of marrying was, in the last decade, 115 per cent greater than in the decade preceding the war, the number who married was only 77 per cent greater. And in Ohio, while, in 1850–80, the inhabitants had increased 37 per cent, the number of marriages had advanced only 26 per cent. The only

in others, one eighth. In this America has a blacker record than Europe, and Protestants than Romanists. Something can be done by making divorce laws uniform, and divorce trials public. More still by making it more difficult to marry in haste, and so repent in haste. Dr. William M. Taylor wisely advocates a renewal of the old law requiring the publication of the banns, and in case of second marriage a filing of evidence that the former wife is dead or legally divorced.

WHAT CAN THE COURTS DO

to lessen pauperism, vice, and crime?

I. Get themselves *disentangled from party politics.*

II. Let *justice become not only more sure, but also more swift.* The delays of our courts are a world-wide scandal, unparalleled in any Christian land. It is the wicked leniency of regular judges that has made Judge Lynch so popular of late.

III. Especially is it important that sentences should be more equitable. One of the most reasonable complaints of the poor is that a ragged prisoner gets as long a sentence for robbing a melon-patch as a broadcloth thief for stealing a quarter of a million dollars of trust funds, with the difference that the ragged thief serves out his full time, while the broadcloth robber does not. A district attorney in Connecticut recently stated that in the last ten years bank officers in that State had stolen almost a million dollars of trust funds, and that not one of them had served out his full sentence.

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known reason for this falling off is the increased expense of living.—*The Advance, Aug. 27th,* 1885.

How can governors, mayors, and other

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

help in the battle with pauperism, vice, and crime?

By swift, severe, impartial enforcement of the laws. Criminals become very limp when the officers of the law prove themselves in earnest. After a few victories in the conviction of Mormons of polygamy, there are reliable signs that the Mormon rebellion is on its last legs. Its chieftain has just fled in petticoat disguise.

The dynamite piracy against society could doubtless be snuffed out in the United States by following the precedent of King Alfred, who suppressed piracy on his coasts in a month by hanging the first twenty pirates he could capture.

New York's compulsory education law, weak as it is, is "*violated by the wholesale*," says the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Only one arrest in New York City in 1884 for selling liquor to children proves that the liquor-dealers were phenomenally *good* or the police very *bad*. A policeman standing at a newsdealer's window enjoying the *Police Gazettes* there illegally displayed, pictures New York in a nutshell. The new plan of municipal government inaugurated by Mayor Low, of Brooklyn, in which the mayor is given power to appoint his chief assistants without the consent of the aldermen, and in which each department has one responsible head, so that in case of maladministration there can be no doubt where to locate the blame, is of great value when controlled by such a mayor as Brooklyn's. Whether in New York it will be like a Moody Bible without a Moody remains to be seen. It is less efficient than some new plan would be that would compel every citizen to vote, if not by a whip dipped in red

paint, as at Athens, to mark the coats of respectable citizens who neglect their duty on election day, at least by a list in black ink in the newspapers of those who did not vote, giving explanations for the sick and for others with adequate excuses. Bad city government has a very direct relation to pauperism, vice, and crime. By its misuse of funds it increases taxes, and so rents, and so prices, and so poverty, and so disease, vice, crime, and anarchy, by which, in turn, it is perpetuated.

The most efficient civil remedy for municipal misrule yet discovered is the organization of

CITIZENS' LAW AND ORDER LEAGUES

for the enforcement of existing laws. Such a league in Chicago reduced by two thirds the sale of liquor to minors. Vigorous enforcement is the best method of removing bad laws, improving imperfect laws, and proving good laws. Most cities have a wheelbarrow government, whose officers do nothing to which they are not forced by the citizens behind them.

But, after all, the law is a clumsy tool for mending character. An ounce of *charity* is worth a pound of police.

What

INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETIES

have proved most efficient in dealing with pauperism, vice, and crime?

(1) A CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY,

such as that of New York City (21 University Place), ought to exist in every great city and be liberally sup-

ported. The two facts that there are four hundred millionaires in New York City, possessing at least twelve hundred million dollars, and that this leading charity is straitened for funds, do not chime well together. A prominent citizen in a thriving town was appealed to for help in the erection of a new church building, but excused himself on the plea that he had so many claims to meet. He promised, however, to consider the matter, and give his answer the next morning. When the visitor called again, he said: "After you left, I took up a London paper, and there read that of 100 people 55 years of age, only 16 will live to the age of 70. I am 55 years of age, and according to that list I have scarcely 15 years of life left—the probabilities are I shall be among the 84 who die before reaching that age. All that I do I must do quickly. I thought after you left I would give you $20. Here is my offering, with my best wishes and prayers." The visitor received a closed envelope and left—with his thanks for what he supposed was $20. But reaching home, he opened the envelope, and found inclosed a check for *one thousand* dollars, with a slip pinned on bearing the legend, "The time is short." Every citizen can contribute to the usefulness of charity organization societies by heeding their sound and charitable advice, "Give nothing to beggars on the street or at the door." Ask the president of a farmers' club what is the best way to raise beets, and he will tell you the very best plan. Even so, ask the specialists of charity how to raise paupers, and the answer is, "Indiscriminate out-door relief." A witty archbishop once said: "If you pay a man to work, he'll work; if you pay him to beg, he'll beg." Yes, and give the contagion to others. "Picture for a moment the return of a professional mendicant, laden with booty, into the same

tenement-house where other men and women are working hard and earning less. What influence can be worse for all who see that begging pays better than work? for the beggar and the worker, for adults, and especially for the young?" This wisest of charities tells us that the worst foes of true charity are those who give to unknown beggars, because too timid to refuse or too lazy even to write for an investigation of the case by the Charity Organization Society. Such giving may be benevolent, but it is *not beneficent* nor even *innocent.* Like Paul's persecutions, it may be done with a good conscience, but such a giver is nevertheless "the chief of sinners" in the perpetuation of pauperism. I saw in the low dives of New York City a part of that ragged army which is sustained in idleness and vice by the revenue and rations they receive at the doors of respectable citizens, whose nickels and dimes help on their debasement. Charity organization societies have done a great service by establishing in each city a clearing-house of registration for all benevolent societies, a census of charity cases, by which each charitable organization can ascertain whether any one of its beneficiaries is receiving help from any other, and thus detect "repeaters." They have done great service also by sending "friendly visitors" to the poor, pledged not to give alms, and so driven, by the necessity which is the mother of invention, to discover some better means of aiding them—by hope, by suggestion, by securing them work, by stirring them to self-help. But there is a further reform of charities which charity organization societies are especially adapted to accomplish—the consolidation of a city's charities into the fewest possible number of societies, with connected branches. Chicago is an example in this matter, in that its one central relief society attends

to all cases of transient want, except when churches prefer to relieve their own members. In New York the duplicate societies very often send an applicant about from one to another. More centralization and less of the "circumlocution office" is needed in the charities of many cities.

(2) In every section of large cities

INDUSTRIAL RESTAURANTS

should be established, in which any one willing to work may, for a day or two, find food and shelter in return. (A very successful one may be seen or written to at 112 Lexington Avenue, Brooklyn.)

(3) CHRISTIAN HOMES FOR THE INTEMPERATE

should be opened in every city, that slaves of drink may find freedom in Christ. It is doubtful if inebriate asylums, in which public money shuts out the only cure—the Gospel—and where cards and cigars keep up the old life in part, are of any permanent benefit; but a Christian home saves many by "the displacing power of a new affection." The New York Christian Home for Intemperate Men (corner of Madison Avenue and Eighty-sixth Street) claims that one half of the drunkards who come to it are permanently reformed because regenerated.

(4) MAGDALEN HOMES

ought to be placed in the very midst of the evil they seek to fight, with doors open night and day. A Magdalen asylum far up-town, or one which "admits no one after four o'clock," is a very poor city of refuge. One who would fight this vice should plant his fort, as the Florence Night Mission of New York (39 Bleecker Street) has done, where his broadsides of song can strike

the enemy at short range. "Jesus loves even me," sung in the North End Mission of Boston, snatched from a career of sin one who was just then passing. On a moment often hangs an eternity. In visiting one hundred of the worst saloons in Chicago one night, as an officer of the Citizens' League for the Suppression of the Sale of Liquor to Minors, I saw as never before the power of music. When an orchestra or an orchestrion struck up in a saloon, young men came running to it by scores from all directions. These same broadsides of music should be used more abundantly by those who are fighting the Devil, who, as Wesley says, has "no right to all the good music."

(5) HOMES OF INDUSTRY FOR DISCHARGED CONVICTS

ought to be nearer than the nearest saloon to every jail.

(6) A CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY,

such as that of New York (19 East Fourth Street), with schools for head, hand, and heart, is yet more necessary in every city as a *preventive* of pauperism, vice, and crime. Standing before one of its large Italian schools a few weeks since, I found nothing so appropriate to say to its old-young faces as the story of a friend of mine, who, in Rome, bought of an Italian boy three buns, for which the price was three soldi, equal to three cents. She gave him two double soldi pieces. He made a begging motion for permission to keep the soldi which was due the lady in change, but she answered, "*Mercante non mendicante*" (merchant not mendicant). The boy proudly gave back the change, having received something far better than a beggar's penny—a quickening of nobler impulses. Children's aid societies help to make into merchants boys who would otherwise be mendicants. Three

boys were just starting out as thieves. The Children's Aid Society rescued two of them and made them good citizens at a cost of $30. The other kept on his criminal career, and cost the State $2850 in punishment. Prevention is cheaper than cure.

(7) THE KITCHEN-GARTEN,

the invention of Miss Emily Huntington, of New York (Wilson Mission, corner Avenue A and Eighth Street), is of great service for young girls, heading off drink and divorce by teaching them how to arrange and conduct their future homes so that even poverty cannot make them dreary.

(8) FREE CHRISTIAN KINDERGARTENS,

like those of Chicago,* true to Froebel's principles in that they do not, like many under infidel management, ignore "God-trust," ought to be more widely introduced as a means of putting sunlight and instruction and Gospel into little hearts that are too young for school, and would otherwise be allowed to run wild all day about the demoralizing homes of poverty.

(9) THE LOOK UP LEGION

is the best temperance society for the young, because it is much more than that.† We want one-idea *men*, but not one-idea *boys*. This society, at its best, aims to develop full-orbed manhood—physical, mental, social, religious—to make a strong body by gymnastics; a quick mind by studies in manliness; social graces by military drill—better than dancing lessons to develop a firm step, an erect carriage, a polite manner—manliness in distinc-

* Inquiries to the President, Mrs. R. D. Fowler, Chicago.

† Inquiries to E. E. Hale, D.D., Boston.

tion from Frenchiness—and, best of all, moral strength by a declaration of independence against alcohol, tobacco, profanity, cruelty to animals, discourtesy, and bad reading, with a positive enthusiasm to be helpful and useful. In all temperance work, especially for the young, the chief effort should be to show that *beer* instead of being the least harmful, is the most harmful of all alcoholic beverages. Of those now in New York's Christian Home for Intemperate Men, fifty-six per cent began with beer. Of two hundred women in a Massachusetts prison, one hundred and twenty-eight began with beer. A New York City missionary says: "Beer is now chiefly the beginning. Beer ceases to satisfy, then comes strong drink, vice, and crime." Statistics from Germany published in *The Voice*, February 19th, 1885, tell the same story. Keep boys from beer and there's little to fear. That there is need of organized effort to save the young from alcohol, tobacco, and other enervating vices, witness the following representative fact: "At an examination of applicants for West Point cadetships, lately held in the Seventeenth Congressional District of Illinois, eighteen out of the twenty-two young men applicants were found *physically defective!*" Similar reports come from other States. These call up, by contrast, the words which Tennyson puts in the lips of the spotless knight:

> "My strength is as the strength of ten
> Because my heart is pure."

CHURCH WORK BEST OF ALL.

But, after all, nothing disinfects a bad neighborhood in a city like planting a church there. Even if it is a

mission, it should be called a "church," as is the plan of the New York City Missionary Society (Bible House). In nearly all our great cities most of the churches have made the mistake of moving up-town with the wealth. One of the saddest facts I know is that a dozen Christian churches have moved out of that unchurched city of seventy thousand people which lies in the heart of the southern half of New York City.* The poor say, "The Church deserted us, and so we have deserted the Church." "Now we are planting missions among this large unchurched population. But the original hold can never be recovered in this way. Move out your palace cars from the assembled passengers, and then back in a cheaper train, with a more economical service, and you need not be surprised to hear them say, 'No, thank you; we do not ride second-class.'" It is cheaper and wiser for the up-town Christians to re-enforce the down-town churches, and so enable them to hold the forts than to compel them to retreat, and then send in a mission to reconquer the territory. "Give the poor as good churches, as good preaching, and as good music as up-town churches, and as large a proportion of them will attend." So says the most successful of New York's city missionaries. The oft-repeated reason for moving a church—that the neighborhood is filling up with Roman Catholics and Jews—is just the opposite of a reason. We send missionaries to these people in far-off lands, and shall we neglect them at our own doors, where our national atmosphere weakens their bigotries?

On a recent Saturday I spoke at one of the services of the Hebrew-Christian work in New York City (73 Allen Street, 3 P.M), a meeting attended by two hundred and

* Rev. J. H. Hoadley in *The Evangelist.*

twenty-nine persons, almost wholly Jews, as their hats on in church attested—a service no larger than Mr. Freshman's usual Saturday meeting, and an overwhelming proof that in this the only nation that has not robbed and mobbed the Jews they are especially accessible for Christian work.

As to Romanists, whole families of them are in some of the evangelical churches, and the man who talks Christ, not "Church," has no difficulty in getting a hearing from them, or in leading their children into the Sabbath-schools of a purer faith. It is a blunder to be a Protestant at all, *or* it is a blunder to say, "Be a good Catholic."

Churches that have moved up-town can now partly atone for that mistake by generous giving for numerous mission churches—the best of all institutions to deal with pauperism, vice, and crime. Judge Van Vorst, in a recent speech on the evils of divorce, declared that "the only remedy for this and other evils is the Gospel operating on the individual." Among the testimonials given in a recent revival meeting in Chicago was one by a young man, who stated that when he came to that city, about a year before, he was a ruined sot, and walked the streets at night hoping that some one would sandbag him. His testimony was followed by that of a man who confessed that if he had met the other brother when, a year before, he was walking around looking for somebody to sandbag him, he could have accommodated him, as he was in that line of business at that time. This reminds me of the meetings of McAll in Paris among the Communists, some of which I attended, and noted the power of Gospel hymns in conquering those whom French bayonets have so often found hard to conquer. Some of these men told Mr. McAll that there

would have been no outbreak if the Gospel had previously reached them.

The tendency of the churches of to-day to neglect the poor is beautifully pictured in the following poem (of disputed authorship):

"De massa ob de sheepfol'
Dat guard de sheepfol' bin,
Look out in the gloomerin' meadows
Whar de long night rain begin—
So he call to de hirelin' shepa'd,
Is my sheep, is dey all come in?

"Oh, den says de hirelin' shepa'd,
Des's some, dey's black and thin,
And some, dey's po' ol' wedda's,
But de res' dey's all brung in,
But de res' dey's all brung in.

"Den de massa ob de sheepfol'
Dat guard de sheepfol' bin,
Goes down in de gloomerin' meadows,
Whar de long night rain begin—
So he le' down de ba's ob de sheepfol',
Callin' sof', Come in, come in,
Callin' sof', Come in, come in!

"Den up t'ro' de gloomerin' meadows,
T'ro' de col' night rain and win',
And up t'ro' de gloomerin' rain-paf
Whar de sleet fa' pie'cin thin,
De po' los' sheep ob de sheepfol'
Dey all comes gadderin' in,
De po' los' sheep ob de sheepfol'
Dey all comes gadderin' in."

New York, at least, is so situated that every up-town church can do mission work in its own building for the poor who are within a few blocks east or west, or both. The first step in such a work should usually be the taking of a

"RELIGIOUS CENSUS,"

as was recently done with good results by four churches of Cambridge, Mass., at the suggestion of Rev. C. F. Thwing, one of the pastors, two thousand homes being visited in business fashion by the employés of a City Directory Company, with the announcement that they were "taking a religious census," a record being made, in a large blank-book prepared for the purpose, of the church attended by each family, also the Sabbath-school, or in case the family was newly come to the community or non-attendants, the denominational preference. Only one of the two thousand families refused to answer the questions of the census-takers, who did the work for $111. The census was then examined by the pastors, and lady visitors were sent out to follow up the "preferences" expressed, which resulted in numerous additions to the churches, and especially to the Sabbath-schools.

The proprietor of a seaside hotel was recently fined $5000 for disobeying the law requiring such hotels to keep one or more life-boats, the neglect having resulted in a drowning. Any city church is certainly at fault which does not keep one or more life-boats, such as a sewing-school, a kitchen-garten, a mothers' meeting, a mission Sabbath-school, and committees of co-operation with city charities.

CRIMINALS FROM SABBATH-SCHOOLS.

Every church can make its Sabbath-school especially a mighty missionary power. Alas that in many cases this opportunity is only half improved because there are classes, even in the largest churches, without teachers, and others whose teachers are irregular, or half prepared, or aimless, or unspiritual. One of the most startling

facts that my investigations have developed is that *a majority of Protestant criminals and slaves of vice were once members of evangelical Sabbath-schools.*

A leaflet on "The Conversion of Children," published by the careful and conservative Children's Special Service Mission of London, states as one reason for seeking their early conversion, that "*nine tenths of the criminals were once Sabbath-school children.*"

In reprinting this leaflet for the United States, the Tract Society of the Methodist Church, in charge of Dr. J. H. Vincent, made no change in this statement. But it has been challenged, and I have therefore made careful inquiry in regard to this matter, of many familiar with criminals and victims of vice. Rev. J. G. Bass, Chaplain of the Kings County Penitentiary, Brooklyn, writes me:

"Twenty years ago, in my labor among the criminal classes in county jail and penitentiary, it was a strange thing to find a person arrested for crime who had been an attendant at a Sabbath-school—perhaps five per cent only.

"Now, and for some few years past, seventy-five per cent at least of the inmates of our prisons and the suspected persons out of prison, have been scholars of Sunday-schools.

"I find in conversations with the more intelligent and thoughtful of our prisoners that they attended Sunday-school, but not church service, so that when they became 'too big' to be attracted to the Sunday-school by the inducements of 'six little tickets for a big ticket, and six big tickets for a book,' and the jingle of the chorus of the hymns, they dropped out of Sunday-school, and not being anchored anywhere by church attendance, they drifted into *Sabbath-breaking*—bad company, bad habits, vice, crime.

"To my mind one of the most important questions before the Church should be, 'How can we induce our young people to attend church services?' The youth and young men of to-day are not, I think, sceptics, but *neglecters* of the means of grace."

The Chaplain of Sing Sing writes me of the prisoners: "Those who are Catholics may be safely put down as having attended Sabbath-school, and *most of the Protestants.*" The Secretary of the Bowery Branch of the Y. M. C. A. of New York City writes: "*Very many* of the vicious and criminal Protestants have been members of Sabbath-schools." Of the forty-six now in New York's Christian Home for Intemperate Men (all except two being Protestants), forty—that is, eighty-eight per cent, were once attendants of Sabbath-schools. I requested the missionary of the Florence Mission, of New York City, to inquire in regard to this matter of the first twenty-five Protestants he met in his work among fallen women, and the appalling report comes back that the whole twenty-five—that is, one hundred per cent, say they were once Sabbath-school girls, giving the name of the denomination in each case, all but three naming evangelical denominations, all of which are represented. Making all allowances for lying or over-statement, the fact remains that a majority of the criminal and vicious classes, even among Protestants, were once in Sabbath-schools.

What do these ominous figures mean? Not that the Sabbath-school is doing no good. To say that nearly all vicious and criminal Protestants have been at some time in Sabbath-schools is very different from saying that nearly all who attend the Sabbath-schools graduate into vice or crime. Most of the members of Sabbath-schools grow up to be good citizens. But why is it that so

many who have been within its sacred portals afterward go in the ways of death? Partly, at least, because of unfaithful teachers. Partly because teachers do not accept the fact that boys are twice as hard to save as girls, and so work twice as hard to save them. In the primary department of a certain Sabbath-school it was found that there were five boys to every six girls, but in the main department only two boys to six girls, more than half having dropped out into the street as they passed from childhood to boyhood. Of similar significance is the representative fact that while thirty-seven young ladies and girls joined our Church last year, there were only nineteen young men and boys. Prison statistics are *vice versa.*

Why do boys and girls and young people leave the Sabbath-school? In many cases *because Sabbath after Sabbath they have no teacher.* Hardly a Sabbath-school is not short of teachers. *You* are the unfaithful teacher responsible for that boy's graduating into the street if you ought to teach and do not. Many leave the Sabbath-school because their teacher is irregular in attendance, or regularly unprepared to make the lesson interesting and helpful. More leave the Sabbath-school because, when for any cause they have been absent for a Sabbath or two, they are not written to or called upon by the teacher, and so conclude they are not missed, and erelong transfer their membership to the Devil's Sabbath-school of the street, the training-school for the prison. Many others are lost to the Church because they are led to attend only the Sabbath-school in childhood, and when, for any cause, they leave the Sabbath-school, they have no church-going habit to hold them to the other services. Some time, if only for a few weeks while the Christmas-tree magnet was at work, nearly

every one who is now in prison or in slavery to vices, sat as a scholar in some Sabbath-school. Oh that the teacher had been more earnest in teaching and visiting, and so had kept him from the evil! If each teacher would but consecrate himself to his class, especially to those in it who have no other Christian influence but his, and so need him most of all, and would resolve to fight every inch of ground with the Devil in seeking their rescue, more of the Sabbath-school would graduate into the Church, and fewer into the dangerous classes. As the Chaplain of Sing Sing says: "Ninety-nine one hundredths of the children in the United States go to Sunday-school." Let us keep and save a larger proportion of them.

UNFAITHFUL PARENTS

have a yet *greater responsibility.* All too many of the army of vice and crime come from Christian homes. When a son or daughter goes astray it is a great comfort to be able to say, "It was not for lack of a consistent example. He did not learn to drink at my table. It was not for lack of family worship nor for lack of training in the way he should go. Perhaps 'when he is *old* he will not depart from it'!"

The study into the causes of vice and crime as a basis of prevention has at last led temperance workers back of the social glass, even back of the brandy-sauce, to *thirst-provoking food and passion-stirring diet.* Mothers who would not have their sons' passions become uncontrollable steeds to run away with them, will some day learn to *cook as they pray*, avoiding too much meat and too much spice, helping to "high thinking" by "plain living."

But the more positive helps to high thinking must not be forgotten. As a physician by means of a little mirror and electric lantern can see far down into a patient's throat, and by a succession of mirrors to the very stomach itself, so there is a mirror by which a pastor can see clearly the lazy and wicked neglect of Christian training in some of his people's homes. He sits down with a Sabbath-school class, and finds only one member of the class able to answer questions on the lesson promptly and correctly. Another knows a little of it. Others, *children of Christian parents*, know nothing about the lesson, and are inexcusably ignorant of the first principles of religion. He sees thus, as plainly as if he were in the homes, that through the whole week these parents do not even once gather their children for Christian instruction, but throw that most important part of a parent's work upon an unpaid stranger who has but one hour per week in which to do it, making that hour doubly hard by not preparing their children. Shame on such parental laziness and unfaithfulness! Such parents are practising for heart-breaks. In every home there should be a persistent daily fortification of children for future temptation by daily family gatherings for Bible-reading and prayer.

More than thirty years ago, one lovely Sabbath morning, eight young men, students in a law school, were walking along the banks of a stream that flows into the Potomac River not far from the city of Washington. They were going to a grove, in a retired place, to spend the hours of that holy day in playing cards. Each of them had a flask of wine in his pocket. They were the sons of praying mothers. As they were walking along, amusing each other with idle jests, the bell of a church, in a little village about two miles off, began to ring. It sounded to the ears of those thoughtless young men as

plainly as though it were only on the other side of the little stream along which they were walking. Presently one of their number, whose name was George, stopped and said to the friend nearest to him that he would go no farther, but would return to the village and go to church. His friend called out to their companions, who were a little ahead of him : "Boys ! boys ! come back here. George is getting religious. We must help him. Come on, and let's baptize him by immersion in the water." In a moment they formed a circle round him. They told him that the only way in which he could save himself from having a cold bath was by going with them.

In a calm, quiet, but earnest way, he said : "I know very well that you have power enough to put me in the water and hold me there till I am drowned, and if you choose you can do so, and I will make no resistance ; but listen to what I have to say, and then do as you think best.

"You all know that I am two hundred miles away from home, but you do not know that my mother is a helpless, bed-ridden invalid. I never remember seeing her out of her bed. I am her youngest child. My father could not afford to pay for my schooling ; but our teacher is a warm friend of my father, and offered to take me without any charge. He was very anxious for me to come ; but mother would not consent. The struggle almost cost her what little life was left to her. At length, after many prayers on the subject, she yielded and said I might go. The preparations for my leaving home were soon made. My mother never said a word to me on the subject till the morning when I was to leave. After I had eaten my breakfast she sent for me, and asked if all was ready. I told her all was ready,

and I was only waiting for the stage. At her request I kneeled beside her bed. With her loving hands upon my head she prayed for her youngest child. Many and many a night since then I have dreamed that whole scene over. It is the happiest recollection of my life. I believe, till the day of my death, I shall be able to remember every word of that prayer. Then she spoke to me thus :

"'My precious boy, you do not know—you never can know, the agony of a mother's heart in parting, for the last time, from her youngest child. When you leave home you will have looked for the last time, this side of the grave, on the face of her who loves you as no other mortal does or can. Your father cannot afford the expense of your making us visits during the two years that your studies will occupy. I cannot possibly live as long as that. The sands in the hour-glass of my life have nearly run out. In the far-off, strange place to which you are going there will be no loving mother to give you counsel in time of trouble. Seek counsel and help from God. Every Sabbath morning, from ten to eleven o'clock, I will spend the hour in prayer for you. Wherever you may be during this sacred hour, when you hear the church-bells ringing, let your thoughts come back to this chamber, where your dying mother will be agonizing in prayer for you. But I hear the stage coming. Kiss me ; farewell !'

"Boys, I never expect to see my mother again on earth. But, by the help of God, I mean to meet her in Heaven."

As George stopped speaking the tears were streaming down his cheeks. He looked at his companions. Their eyes were all filled with tears.

In a moment the ring was opened which they had

formed about him. He passed out and went to church. He had stood up for the right against great odds. They admired him for doing what they had not courage to do. They all followed him to church. On their way there each of them quietly threw away his cards and his wine-flask. Never again did any of those young men play cards on the Sabbath. From that day they all became changed men. Six of them died Christians, and are now in heaven. George is an able Christian lawyer in Iowa; and his friend, the eighth of the party, who wrote this account, has been for many years an active member of the church. Here were eight men converted by the prayers of that good Christian woman. And if we only knew all the results of their examples and their labors, we should have a grand illustration of the influence of a mother's prayers.

Such parents are the mightiest of all influences for preventing pauperism, vice, and crime, and so for solving the problem of great cities.

Our most pressing duty as patriots and Christians is to form a united battle-line, whose centre shall be the Christian home, with the Church on the right wing and the school on the left, for the defence of youth against Alcohol and his allies. While the discussion of Prohibition goes on, those who differ about this plan of assault may be immediately and effectively rallied, even in rum-ruled cities, as I saw proved by the Citizens' League of Chicago, in a united and enthusiastic campaign to "save the boys." If a boy *can* not play with poisons before his majority, in most cases he *will* not afterward. Protect the oak until it is of age, and it will be likely to weather any storm that assails it, *especially if its roots have grappled about the Rock.*

SAVE THE BOY.

ONCE he sat upon my knee,
  Look'd from sweet eyes into mine,
Question'd me so wondrously,
  Of the mysteries divine ;
Once he fondly clasped my neck,
  Press'd my cheek with kisses sweet ;
O my heart ! we little reck
  Where may rove the precious feet.

Once his laugh with merry ring
  Fill'd our house with music rare,
And his loving hands would bring
  Wreaths of blossoms for my hair ;
Oh, the merry, happy sprite,
  Constant, ceaseless source of joy ;
But to-night, O God, to-night,
  Where, oh, where's my wand'ring boy?

Midst the glitter and the glare
  Of the room where death is dealt,
Scarce you'd know him, but he's there,
  He who once so rev'rent knelt
At my knee, and softly spoke
  Words into the ear of God ;
O my heart, 'tis smitten, broke—
  Crushed, I bend beneath the rod.

Oh, this curse that spoiled my boy !
  Led him down and down to death ;
Robbed me of my rarest joy,
  Made a pang of ev'ry breath ;
Mothers, fathers, hear my plea !
  Let your pleadings pierce the sky,
Pray and work most earnestly,
  Let us save our boys or die !

CHORUS.—Save the boy, oh, save the boy !
  To the rescue swiftly come ;
  Save the boy, oh, save the boy !
  Save him from the curse of rum.

* This best of temperance songs is taken, by permission, from "Good Will," 20 cts., published by F. H. Revell, Chicago.

III. WARNINGS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE FROM LIVING LEADERS.

WATCHWORDS WORTH REPEATING.

GLADSTONE: We suffer more year by year from intemperance than from war, pestilence, and famine combined—those three great scourges of the human family.

HON. LOT M. MORRILL, *of Maine:* The liquor traffic is the gigantic crime of crimes.

HON. JOHN D. LONG, *of Massachusetts:* Whiskey is the dynamite of civilization.—*Speech against Bonded Whiskey Bill.*

HON. NOAH DAVIS, *Chief-Justice of New York:* Among all causes of crime, Intemperance stands out the unapproachable chief.

JAMES PARTON: Let us go on eating, drinking, smoking, over-working, idling; men killing themselves to buy clothes for their wives, wives killing themselves by wearing them, children petted and candied into imbecility and diphtheria. In that case, of course, there will be no Coming Man, and we need not take the trouble to inquire what he will do.—*From "Will the Coming Man Drink Wine?"*

WILLIAM HARGREAVES, *Philadelphia:* There is not the shadow of a doubt but that more than $800,000,000 would annually be spent more than is now spent for food and other articles of use and necessity but for the traffic in strong drinks. This additional sum spent for our manufactures and agricultural products would give an incalculable impetus to every department of productive industry, trade, and commerce.

WILLIAM M. THAYER, D.D., *Boston: Licensed* liquor is just as disastrous now as it was when King Ahasuerus and his royal guests had a disgraceful, drunken time at a banquet, though, as we are told, "*the drinking was according to the law.*"

HERRICK JOHNSON, D.D., *Chicago:* The supreme business of the hour is to make men see the truth about the dram-shop; that there is no possibility of just compromise with it; that it is evil and only evil, and that continually; that licensing it is bad policy and bad morality. If men say, "The State is not ready for prohibition," let the answer be, "We mean to make it ready." Meanwhile let us do what in us lies to enforce every prohibitory feature of the license laws.

HON. J. P. ST. JOHN, *of Kansas:* If our boys were made of pig-iron, the politicians would advocate their protection.

ARCHDEACON FARRAR: Intemperance is the one sin, at once very common and very fatal, which is absolutely and easily preventable.

It is the one curse of humanity of which we might absolutely cut off the entail.—*Nineteenth Century for May*, 1885.

CARDINAL MANNING: It is mere mockery to ask us to put down drunkenness by moral and religious means when the Legislature facilitates the multiplication of the incitements to intemperance on every side. You might as well call upon me, as a captain of a sinking ship, and say, "Why don't you pump the water out?" when you are scuttling the ship in every direction.

HON. ROBERT C. PITMAN, LL.D., *Associate Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts:* Government, in the discharge of its proper duties, should not only frame its laws so as (to quote Mr. Gladstone) "to make it as hard as possible for a man to go wrong, and as easy as possible for a man to go right," but it is bound to set before him a true ethical standard. . . . When the State writes "Criminal" over the doorway of the most elegant drinking-saloons, as well as over the lowest grog-shops; when it places at the bar of justice the tempter by the side of his victim, and when it stamps every package of liquor as a dangerous beverage, meriting destruction as a public nuisance, it has done much to warn the young and unwary, and to turn their feet aside from the downward path.

J. P. NEWMAN, D.D., *ex-Chaplain of United States Senate:* Moral sentiment may be in the minority, but whenever moral sentiment is aroused on the side of right, it assumes the proportion of omnipotence, and it is equal to any and every emergency.

BISHOP C. H. FOWLER: The work of reform is always aggressive, and wearisome, and dangerous. It must have its convictions from above, be in league with God, move by a command so supreme that no human veto is heard. It can have no fellowship with conservatism. Cautious it may be, but never cowardly.—*From Sermon on "The Impeachment and Punishment of Alcohol."*

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR O. H. MANNING, *of Iowa:* A school-house on every hill-top, and no saloon in the valley.—*From Speech accepting His Nomination*, 1883.

HON. H. W. BLAIR, *United States Senator from New Hampshire:* Although great good might be accomplished by prohibitory Congressional legislation in the Territories and the District of Columbia, still the only national law which can radically remedy the evils of alcoholism must be enacted by an Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, to be supplemented by appropriate statutes for its enforcement. The submission of such an Amendment, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation, and transporta-

tion of intoxicating liquors for use as beverages, to the people of the States for their ratification or rejection ought not to be opposed by any party organization. No prohibition of the manufacture and transportation can be effective unless by virtue of national law, because the manufacture for the world can take place on any square mile of the continent, and transportation is controlled by national power. What the temperance reform most needs is nationalization.

NEWMAN HALL, D.D., *of London:* There can be no sin in abstinence—there may be great evil done by indulgence.

DR. H. A. REYNOLDS, *Founder of Red-Ribbon Reform Clubs:* Cider is the Devil's kindling-wood.

FRANCIS MURPHY, *of the Blue-Ribbon Reform Clubs:* With my whole heart do I believe in preaching the Gospel of the world's Redeemer, "with malice toward none, with charity for all." I know there is salt in this Gospel to save to the uttermost from the power of intoxicating liquors.

JOHN B. GOUGH, *Worcester, Mass.:* We stand saved, not by our own efforts alone, but by our own efforts blessed and acknowledged by Him in whose hands are the destinies of all men.

D. L. MOODY: I am thoroughly convinced that if the drunkards will only get done leaning upon their own strength, and call upon God to destroy the appetite, He will do it, for He was manifested to destroy the works of the Devil.

DR. JAMES EDMUNDS, F.L.S., *London:* I do not believe that this is one of the questions in which the religious argument will help you much. If you do not see clearly that physiologically the use of alcoholic liquors is a mistake, your total abstinence and self-sacrifice for somebody else's benefit are not worth a rush; and, so far as I can see, total abstinence upon that platform has done nothing but retard the movement.

MRS. MARY H. HUNT, *Superintendent of Woman's Christian Temperance Union Department of Temperance Education:* Surely the Star of Bethlehem of the temperance reform stands over the school-house.

CHANCELLOR JOHN HALL, D.D., *New York:* Be good-humored to your opponents. There are times, you know, when people may be answered according to their folly. They will bid you drink and be strong. Ask them would they have you stronger than elephants and lions—all water-drinkers. They will tell you of their lively spirits at night, when you mope. Remind them how men are merry in

wine and cross after it, "jolly good fellows every one" in the back parlor of the tavern at night, and crabbed and crusty in their room next day. There is nothing to prevent one telling the truth, you know, laughingly.

T. De Witt Talmage, D.D., *Brooklyn:* Cold water is good for the constitution. It puts no gout into the toes; it puts no dimness into the eyes; it puts no trembling into the limbs. It never sets a man at midnight interviewing a lamp-post. It never turns respectable men into gutter inspectors. It never turns domestic arrangements upside down until the father is as bad off as the man who said that none of his children took after him, except his eldest daughter, and she took after him with a broomstick.

Daniel Dorchester, D.D., *Salem, Mass., author of "The Liquor Problem in All Ages."* This century is the century of the greatest moral triumphs ever witnessed. Slavery and duelling have been banished from immense areas of the earth, and from hundreds of millions of people. In the light of these grand moral achievements, who shall say that intemperance cannot be routed from civilized society?

Dr. F. R. Lees, F.S.A.: Of all the strange paradoxes of our time, the strangest seems to be that of a person who teaches that intoxicating liquor is physically evil, and morally and socially seductive and currupting; who warns the public against the tavern as a trap and a temptation to ruin; yet who, *in his relation of citizen,* takes part in the election of men who sanction the sale of the drink which he decries and denounces!

James Brand, D.D., *Oberlin, O., in The Advance, Sept.* 3, 1885: The great masses of the people, who dread and hate this horrid wrong of the liquor traffic, must leave and are preparing to leave any party that will court and retain the liquor vote. They will not go out in a pet, or for revenge. They will be driven out, if at all, by party-leaders who blindly attempt to conciliate the saloon-interest, not because they believe in the liquor traffic, but for the sake of present victory at the polls.

SYMPOSIUM ON THE TEMPERANCE CENTENNIAL.

THE following circular letter was sent to a few of the tried leaders of the temperance reform :

106 East 81st Street, New York, April 6, 1885.

Inasmuch as the leading temperance societies have decided to celebrate the first Centennial of Temperance in this year 1885 (not that there were not individual abstainers before 1785, and even churches which advocated abstinence, but that the temperance utterances of Dr. Rush in that year are related to the modern temperance movement very much as Robert Raikes's Sabbath-schools are related to the modern Sabbath-school movement), it has seemed appropriate to gather for publication a symposium of the opinions of temperance leaders in all departments as to what we ought to learn from the mistakes and defeats and successes of our first temperance century, that the second may be still more victorious.

May I ask, then, for a brief answer to the above general question, and, also, to some one or more of the following more specific questions :

1. In your opinion, does the past teach that abstinence from alcohol in the new century should be really "total," including abstinence not only from [1]distilled liquors, [2]ale, [3]wine, [4]lager beer, [5]new cider, *but also from [6]alcoholic foods, and [7]alcoholic medicines ?**

2. In your opinion, does the past teach that prohibition should also be *total* in the new century—not for Sunday only, or minors only, or local option towns only, or States only, but also for the Territories controlled by the national Government, and *without any exception allowing the manufacture or importation of alcoholics for use in medicine and the arts ?**

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* Dr. Nichols' (p. 87) declaration that it is no longer necessary to make exception for the use of alcohol in medicine and the arts, since science has available substitutes in each case, seems to me to flag the highest peak reached in our first century, and if the people can be made to believe it, we may in the second century leave out of pledges and prohibitory laws these harmful exceptions.

3. In the last and best movement of the closing temperance century, that for compulsory education in the public schools in regard to the nature of alcohol and tobacco, do you not think that *opium* also (in view of the recent rapid increase in its use), ought to be specifically named for special attention ; and is it not desirable that public school teachers should be required to explain (annually at least), all the State laws relating to children and youth, in order that such laws as those forbidding the sale to minors, of liquors, tobacco, corrupting papers, etc., may be known by the children themselves? *

4. In your judgment, what methods of temperance work have been weighed and found wanting by the closing century?

5. In your judgment, what methods of temperance work has the closing century tried and proved?

6. What is the strongest argument, in your view, for or against the new "Liberty party" of prohibition?

ANSWERS.

FROM MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD, EVANSTON, ILL.,
President of National Woman's Christian Temperance Union (150,000 *members*) :

1. Dr. Nichols has struck the keynote for the twentieth century : "*Down with the curse!*" Forbid its manufacture, and educate our people in the common schools and everywhere above the barbarism and ignorance of its use in any form or for any cause whatever.

2. There can be no half-way measures in the focussing light of science, political economy, and Christian duty, as they now shine upon our pathway. We have daubed with untempered mortar long enough. Absolute outlawing of the manufacture, from grains and fruits meant for our food, of drinks that uncap Perdition in our homes —that is the meaning of our battle-cry, and *Death to Alcohol* its only rational expression.

3. I hope that the beneficent laws providing for scientific temperance education, secured so largely through the efforts of our Woman's

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* One correspondent wisely suggests, in reply to this question, that laws relating to youth should, by the requirement of a clause in themselves, be posted in or about each public school, that the young may know both their rights and duties, and learn to become law-abiding citizens.

Christian Temperance Union, may be made to include all the points made in the foregoing suggestive paragraph [*i.e.* question 3].

4. "Moderation" in the use of alcoholic poison; "license" in any form; "scotching" the snake that ought to be killed—no matter how that half-way method may be disguised in form, or propped up by well-meaning, but non-"expert" temperance names.

5. Total abstinence for the individual; total prohibition for the State; independent party action and all the thirty-eight methods of the W. C. T. U., classified in our leaflet as "Preventive," "Educational," "Evangelistic," "Social," "Legal," and "Organizing."

6. There are, in my opinion, no arguments against it that will stand as valid in 1900.

There are in favor (1) *the history of parties*, their inception, evolution, and decay; (2) the philosophy of individual aggregation around a great principle; (3) the voice of individual conscience; (4) the demand for a non-sectional movement to unify North and South; (5) the absence of any supreme issue except Prohibition; (6) the impossibility of enforcing laws without a party committed to elect the officer behind the ordinance; (7) the fact that we never really find the alcohol-Goliath on his native heath till we go into politics after him.

FROM MRS. SALLIE F. CHAPIN, CHARLESTON, S. C.,

Vice-President for S. C. of N. W. C. T. U.:

1. It does. I fully indorse the opinion of the *Journal of Chemistry* that alcohol in every shape and form can be dispensed with, and something more available be substituted.

2. I believe in total and absolute prohibition of alcohol in every acre over which the flag of our country floats, making no exception for any supposed necessity, for any class of individuals, in any place, at any time, or for any cause.

3. Most assuredly I do. Byron pathetically says:

> "Untaught in youth my heart to tame
> My springs of life were poisoned."

The children are the grand to-morrows to which we look for the "good time coming." They are the hope of the temperance cause.

4. I would be loath to say that any have failed to do some good, but I am quite certain that nothing but Prohibition can effectually stop the terrible curse.

5. It has tried a great many. I do not consider though that Prohibition has had, or can have, a fair trial as long as the United States receives a revenue from prohibition towns, or counties, or States, for the sale of liquor; for evidently no individual would want a United States tax receipt, in such town or State, unless with intent to defy the law of such State or county, and it is an insult to the State for the United States to take a tax outlawing their statutes.

6. The strongest argument is that it is the only party on which North and South will stand. The white people of the South will never rally to a party under which they have suffered untold sorrows. The Republicans would never consent to be Democrats, and so there is no hope for the nation except in culling from the two parties their noblest and best—true patriots, willing to say, as Garibaldi did, "Though one hundred Garibaldis fall, let Rome be free."

FROM MRS. CAROLINE B. BUELL, NEW YORK,

Cor. Sec. of N. W. C. T. U.:

1. I can but think the time must come when alcohol will no longer be used as a food or medicine.

2. Prohibition to thoroughly prohibit must be *total.*

While at present an exception must, perhaps, be made to the manufacture or importation for use in medicine and the arts, I think the twentieth century will not have been ushered in ere the demand for this will have passed away.

3. *The nature and effect of alcohol upon the human system* should lead, and hygiene, tobacco, and opium follow. Children should be taught, at least, the laws of the State in which they live, and so far as possible those of other States.

4. All temperance effort of the past has had its place, but we have now arrived at a point where non-partisan methods are sadly wanting. There is still work of this character to do, but it can no longer be counted on for the best work.

5. Education by the distribution of literature and scientific instruction for the children in the public schools—in fact, almost everything, since "all roads lead to Rome."

6. Their name is Legion. History repeats itself. Non-partisan effort can second laws, but party effort will alone enforce them. The old cry that "prohibition is a failure" comes from the fact that thus far no prohibitory law has had behind it a party *forming a unit* for its enforcement, and before we can expect other and better results we must have a party committed to the prohibition issue.

FROM MRS. MARY A. WOODBRIDGE, RAVENNA, O.,

Rec. Sec. N. W. C. T. U. (also President Ohio W. C. T. U.):

1. As experience teaches that alcoholic foods and medicines lead to the use of fermented and distilled liquors, which are evil, and only evil, in their effects, we believe total abstinence from alcohol in any way or form presented, to be the only safety for our people.

2. To secure total abstinence on the part of our people, a thoroughly enforced law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcohol for any purpose must be enacted.

3. We believe it would be wise to specify opium among narcotics, it being in more general use than others. The knowledge and teaching of the laws referred to would create an era of reform.

4. All effort for restriction or regulation only. God does not permit or regulate sin.

5. All trial has been hedged about with difficulty. The only successes recorded have been through prohibitory methods.

6. A law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcohol can be enforced only by a party fully committed to the principle.

FROM MRS. L. M. N. STEVENS, STROUDWATER, ME.,

Asst. Rec. Sec. of N. W. C. T. U.:

1. After ten years of careful thought and study, and experience with the drinking classes, finding many victims made so through the use of alcohol as a medicine, I am ready to declare myself in favor of *total abstinence* in the fullest sense of the expression.

2. I believe in total and entire prohibition, twenty-four hours in the day, seven days in the week, and fifty-two weeks in the year—for all people of all ages and all localities of all States and Territories. I believe the new century would be made glorious by the entire extermination of alcohol in all forms. I do not believe "the arts or medicine" would suffer a millionth part as much by its loss as would the health, the morality, the happiness of the people suffer by its existence.

3. In view of the alarming increase of the use of opium and the often dreadful results of its use, I think it should be classed with alcohol and tobacco in our instructions to the young, and our teachers urged to be fully instructed themselves, and to impart to pupils State laws relative to these matters.

4. *High license*, it seems to me, must always be in reality a failure because a compromise with evil can never result in good. The sub-

stitution of light wines for distilled liquors as a temperance measure is a "delusion and a snare."

5. Prohibition is to be the capstone of all temperance work. It has been tried in Maine for thirty years. It has proved successful, wonderfully so, when we consider how much is manufactured and sold in near States. I am writing this in a Maine village where, thirty years ago, were seven drinking-places. To-day not one exists; and, more than this, the town in which this village is situated is one of the largest and wealthiest in the State, and within its borders not one drinking-place can be found. Prohibition is right in theory and practically successful, as has been abundantly proved.

6. The greatest argument, to my mind, in favor of the Prohibition party is that no other party will recognize the importance of the temperance question—the greatest question of the age. Each of the two great parties ignored the appeals made to them. What else could we do?

FROM MISS ESTHER PUGH, COLUMBUS, O.,

Treas. N. W. C. T. U.:

1. As the alcoholic habit is a constantly increasing one, and one which almost invariably has a very small beginning, and as all experience teaches us that first these "milder" drinks and alcoholic foods and medicines are the germinating point of the appetite, I say *yes* emphatically.

2. In the spirit of my answer to No. 1, and in the light of your footnote, I say total prohibition all days and for all ages. I believe the twentieth century will dawn upon not only such *laws*, but such *usages*.

3. In my opinion the law should be framed to cover the nature and effects of *all narcotics*, thus the whole ground of the dangerous practices of this day would be covered. The best scientists of to-day pronounce *alcoholics* to be neither more nor less than *narcotics*.

4. All which stop short of total abstinence for the individual, and total prohibition for the State, and especially those which look only to the reform of the drinker.

6. The fact that the court of final appeal under our Government is the ballot-box, and that the resort to this cannot be made efficient without that organization behind it which we denominate a *party*, meaning by this that there must be an assertion of principles by a platform, whereon that organization or party can stand, and to the defence of which it is pledged.

FROM MRS. MARY B. WILLARD, CHICAGO,

Editor of Union Signal, Official Organ of N. W. C. T. U.:

1. I believe that science teaches that alcohol in any form is injurious to human tissues, and is not intended to come in contact with them.

2. I believe that prohibition, to be efficient, must cover manufacture, sale, and importation in all States and Territories. As to exceptions, I see no great difficulty in governmental provision for the manufacture, storage, and sale of whatever alcohol may be needed in manufactures, but believe that with the enlightened and quickened sentiment of a prohibitory law covering the entire territory of the United States, will come ingenious substitutes for alcohol even in the arts.

3. An excellent suggestion. Back of Sabbath-breaking, intemperance, and all kindred evils, lies the great fact that Americans are a nation of law-breakers. Bad as temperance laws are in most States, they are far better than the practice of the people. For instance, nearly all States forbid the selling of liquor to children. What a wholesome culture of conscience and preparation for citizenship it would be to have all children made to feel that in entering a saloon to buy for themselves or others, they were law-breakers as surely as if they entered the saloon at night to steal! Dr. Holland said that "the way not to have any more rascals is not to *grow* any more rascals." Legislatures may well take note of this in connection with the fact that there are many child-criminals in these days. The W. C. T. U. may well incorporate this effort with its other, for law-enforcement. I think the public school system should include thorough culture of the heart as well as of the head, and that morality and religion should enter into the teachings—so including an intelligent apprehension of all these evils.

4. Temperance work in secret orders, so-called temperance measures, such as high license, taxation, Governmental and State.

5. Total abstinence, prohibitory law, educational effort, by literature, lectures, teaching of temperance in schools, Bands of Hope, Sunday-school, temperance teaching, and the ballot in the hands of women.

6. Parties should be public servants, working for the public welfare. The public welfare demands prohibition of the liquor traffic. If neither of the old parties *will* serve us in the accomplishment of this end, a new one *must*. My belief is that neither of the old parties *can* do this without committing suicide.

MRS. EMILY L. MCLAUGHLIN, SOUTH BOSTON,

Of N. W. C. T. U., Com. on National Organization:

1. I believe the finger-marks of science, revelation, and human experience all point to *total* abstinence from the use of alcohol, either as drink, food, or medicine, in the new century, as the highest development of wisdom.

2. The total prohibition of the sale, manufacture and importation of alcoholic beverages in this country is the final proposition of the temperance reformation, or, in other words, *national* prohibition. As to the sale and use of alcohol in medicine and the arts, I do not *know*, but, reviewing the advances of the past, I dare *believe* even this will come before the new century closes.

3. I think the alarm should be rung out all along the line of narcotics.

4. Moral suasion as a *single* method.

All palliative legislation, such as license laws (high and low), taxation, local option laws which leave large cities hopelessly in the grasp of the liquor traffic. While good results have been secured in several States by non-partisan effort, I believe the sore necessity of the hour calls for "heroic treatment," measures with *men* behind them, banded together and pledged for their support.

5. I think we have seen in the past century's work the value of education, agitation, and organization.

6. The attitude of the dominant parties. The utter impossibility of temperance men *combining* without forming a party, a national party for national prohibition, which alone can control the District of Columbia, Territories, and the custom houses of our country.

FROM DR. THEODORE L. CUYLER, BROOKLYN, N. Y.,

President of the National Temperance Society (non-partisan and non-sectarian):*

1. It should be *total* from *all* intoxicating *beverages*, and the question of alcoholic medicines (*strictly* such) must be left to the doctors.

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* That this is so will be seen by reading the variety of opinions expressed by its officers. This is the *only* national temperance organization which is "non-sectarian and non-partisan," admitting members of all parties—Democratic, Republican, *and Prohibitory*—as helpers in its educational work, which is not directed against either of the three parties, but rather against the sale and use of alcoholic beverages.

A *pretended* advance in the second century may otherwise involve the *loss* of what was gained in the first century. Our real "Thermopylæ" is to overthrow and remove the *drinking usages* of society. Gain *that* and all is gained. With that victory goes also the dram-shop. We are reformers, not visionaries.

2. We should aim to *suppress all tippling-houses*, on all days of the week. Where we cannot suppress the dram-traffic entirely, then *curtail* it as much as possible. The half loaf is better than *no* bread. The most feasible method yet known is that of *local prohibition*, with frequent submission to the ballot-box. That allows *each* locality to protect itself, and requires *constant* education of the popular conscience against the *drinking customs* (which really create and maintain dram-shops). The *real* battle is to overthrow the *drinking usages*.

There are so *many* objections to "*Constitutional* Amendments" in favor of prohibition that I *doubt* the wisdom of them. Why make a *Constitution* prohibitive of *liquor-saloons*, when it is *not* prohibitive of *murder*, theft, blasphemy, or any other wrong? Put suppressive *laws* on the statute-books and *enforce* them; and do *not* tamper with fundamental "constitutions." It is dangerous business. Finally, all must depend on *laws*, for Constitutions contain no penalties or even legal procedures.

3. YES! *Education* underlies the whole reform. *Teach* the individual conscience to let alcoholics and narcotics (including opium) alone. Civil *law* must be invoked to *aid* our reform, but it is essentially a *moral*, *social* and *personal* one, and everything depends on getting *individuals* to deny themselves all alcoholic and narcotic drinks and indulgences. Childhood and youth are the decisive periods.

4. (1) All attempts to divorce temperance from Bible-religion.

(2) All efforts to change *constitutions* without educating the people to give up the drinking customs.

(3) All reliance on mere *party platforms* concocted before election to catch votes.

(4) *Every* effort at *legal* reform which does not build on and follow a sound public sentiment.

(5) "Secret" orders (like "Templars," etc.) are very *useful*, but are *limited* in their reach. Use them, but do not rely too much on them.

(6) The worst of all blunders is to shut this great reform out of God's Church.

5. First of all, the *total abstinence pledge*.

Second, The education of the young against alcoholics.

Third, The introduction of temperance into *church* methods and activities.

Fourth, The principle of local suppression of the dram-shops.

Fifth, The opening of "coffee-taverns" and other such resorts as *antidotes* to dram-shops.

Sixth, The *Women's* Christian movement.

Seventh, Well-managed "orders" like "Sons of Temperance," etc.

Eighth, Home influence against the drinking usages.

6. A third or "Prohibition" *party* is not likely to become the *majority* in any State. It may hold *the balance of power* and so control legislation. Our *present* restrictive laws (*e.g.* Maine, Kansas, Iowa, Georgia, etc.) were *not* passed by legislatures elected by *any* "*third* party." If we wait until a *third* party can become the absolute *majority,* we shall lose the century. It is *very* difficult to rear and maintain a *political* party on a *single moral idea.* Slavery perished by the *sword,* and that sword was *chiefly* drawn to save the Union. Do not *hang* the temperance reform on the SINGLE "hook" of a political party. [See also p. 183.]

FROM COL. GEORGE W. BAIN, LOUISVILLE, KY.,

A Vice-President of the Nat. Temp. Soc. (also R. W. G. T. of Good Templars):

1. I do most assuredly.

2. While I believe, as a beverage, it is evil, only evil, and that continually, I also believe, as a medicine, it does more harm *tenfold* than good, and since its injury is *eternal,* all temporal benefit should be sacrificed. I believe, however, the test would prove that but few would die, if any, for the want of alcoholic service. This world, so full of misery because of this deceitful, dangerous article, would be so happy without it, I say, by the memory of the dead and sorrowful of the past century, the new one should *totally prohibit* alcohol.

3. Yes. Such a course would greatly tend to make the moral progress of this country keep pace with its physical grandeur.

4. This is difficult to answer since there have been so much of good purpose and earnest endeavor to benefit the cause, but in all movements, that part which in any way compromised principle could not be expected to serve advanced positions, and any method short of total abstinence and total prohibition has been "weighed" only to be "found wanting."

5. Total abstinence and prohibition. All right human laws are echoes of the Divine law. Divine law says, "Thou shalt not steal;" human law echoes, "Thou shalt not steal." Divine law says, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" human law echoes, "Thou

shalt not commit adultery." Divine law says, "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink," which should be echoed in prohibition.

6. Since both of the great (in numbers) parties have clasped hands over the liquor traffic, and the Prohibition party is the only party pledged to the overthrow of the country's greatest curse—intemperance—I can see no argument against the Prohibition party, but every reason for its existence and final triumph.

I believe the great question before this country is, whether the home or saloon shall triumph, and the saloon in its warfare on the home, having intrenched itself behind political power, a political party is essential to its overthrow.

FROM GEORGE W. BUNGAY, BROOKLYN, N. Y.,

A Vice-President of the Nat. Temp. Soc.:

1. I am decidedly in favor of absolute abstinence from all kinds of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. I consider alcoholic foods exceedingly dangerous. I think substitutes for alcoholic medicines can be and should be provided.

2. In my judgment prohibition should not be confined to Sundays and minors, neither should it be limited to State and Territorial lines. The use of alcohol in mechanics and in the arts and as a medicine should be strictly guarded by the most rigid legislation.

3. The use of opium is fearfully increasing and specific law is called for to protect the people.

4. I think that every effort to advance temperance when pure motives are behind the effort, "do more or less good."

5. The most successful, Gospel temperance.

6. Many of its leaders seem to discriminate against the Republicans and in favor of the Democrats. To me this method of advocating temperance does not look like fair play. I am in favor of a fair show for both parties and opposed to wild denunciation.

FROM EDWARD CARSWELL, OSHAWA, ONT.,

A Vice-President of Nat. Temp. Soc. (also P. M. W. A. of Sons of Temperance):

We should learn from the mistakes and defeats and successes of our first temperance century that the passage of a prohibitory or local option act is not the *end*, but only the *beginning* of the battle. The supposition that the fight was over and that the law would enforce itself when once passed has been one of the great mistakes of the past.

2. As to medicine, not being a scientific man, I cannot say how much alcohol is needed or how much good it does in medicine; but the evil is so apparent that I think its total prohibition would save a hundred lives where its use saves one. I have *seen* the hundred slain, but never the one saved. The total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drink in the Canadian Territories has been a great success, and has prevented riot and bloodshed. Not a man was killed nor did a riot occur while building the Canadian Pacific Railroad through the Territories. It was only when they were building through Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba that the contractors had any trouble with the men, and always caused by the whiskey-sellers.

3. Yes, certainly.

4. Moderation societies.

5. Prohibition by local option or State laws and Constitutional Amendment. I was in Maine three months, and did not see a glass of liquor bought, sold, or drunk. I can say the same of Kansas, and was in a hotel every day for three weeks, and I travelled through Nova Scotia and did not see a glass of liquor sold nor one intoxicated person in any of the counties where they had local option laws in force.

FROM REV. H. W. CONANT, PROVIDENCE, R. I.,

A Vice-President of the Nat. Temp. Soc. (also Cor. Sec. of R. I. Temp. Union):

1. There is absolutely no position of which the individual may for himself or others predicate safety from drunkenness and attendant evils short of total abstinence from all alcoholic drinks. And for many the use of alcoholic medicines is inevitable ruin.

2. It is a settled opinion of mine that, however advantageous the partial prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic beverages may be in municipalities or States—and that it has been of great advantage cannot be denied—we can never reach the goal for which we pray and labor until the whole country over which the stars and stripes wave is covered with Constitutional prohibition, State and national. The time has fully come when all Governmental connection with such a dreadful business should forever cease. All our Territories should be covered by prohibition by the general Government, and no new State should be admitted without a prohibitory clause in its Constitution. If in medicine, arts and mechanics another substance can be substituted for alcohol, then, indeed, all manufacture, sale, importation, and exportation of this acknowledged poison should be forever outlawed. The hour is ripe for an advance movement.

3. Yes. The opium habit and the tobacco habit ought to be so fully explained to the children that they will never use either of those dangerous drugs. A knowledge of the laws governing this traffic ought to be so easily acquired and so readily understood by the families of the State that they shall have ample opportunity for obeying them. Let all our children be taught the law, and learn to respect and reverence it.

4. The moderation theory—the limited pledge—and the license system. Instead of the license system being a restrictive one, it is the strongest possible guarantee the dealer can have that his business shall be protected and respected. The traffic is intrenched in the license laws and internal revenue laws of the hour. High tax or low tax upon the traffic has failed to give any relief from the burdens inflicted upon society. The same is true of the municipal or State law; whether it be "high license" or "low license." It makes the State the only respectable partner in the business. It has been the greatest help that the traffic has found.

5. Agitation, education, moral suasion, legal suasion, have been successful. Organized efforts have been of inestimable value. The pulpit, press and platform have been a combined power for good. Instruction in Sunday-schools and other gatherings of youth has been of great service when the pledge has accompanied it. These have been most successful when accompanied with the enforcement of laws suppressing the traffic.

6. (1) The failure of any party as such to enforce the law, that, if carried into execution, would close up the liquor-saloons.

(2) The ballot is the only argument that politicians can be made to respect.

(3) The Christian conscience of this country must be furnished with an opportunity to array itself against this giant crime of our civilization. A party committed to the annihilation of the dram-shop meets this demand of the hour—viz., "Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?"

FROM JOSEPH COOK, BOSTON, MASS.,

A Vice-President of the Nat. Temp. Soc.:

1. Yes; unless for medicine under the direction of *a very* prudent and learned physician.

2. Yes, except as above.

3. Yes, in answer to both clauses.

4. Moderate or double pledges, not requiring in all cases total abstinence.

License in all its forms.

Fashionable half and half measures, by those who defend wine-bibbing.

Defence of moderate drinking on the ground of the false assumptions as to the example of Christ.

5. Local option ; prohibition ; total abstinence ; temperance instruction in schools ; church work ; Gospel temperance.

6. That neither of the great political parties dares offend the whiskey vote, or can be depended upon to outlaw the liquor traffic. [See also p. 180.]

FROM GEN. NEAL DOW, PORTLAND, ME.,

A Vice-President of Nat. Temp. Soc. (also author of "The Maine Law," and Prohibition candidate for President in 1880) :

1. It seems to me the proofs are abundant and conclusive that alcoholic fluids, in whatever form, are never useful as a drink, that they are always more or less mischievous to those who take them, and that the evils coming from the drink habit are greater than those which have come from all other sources of evil combined.

2. In my opinion it is not possible to produce any permanent favorable change in the condition of society, in any civilized country, so far as intemperance is concerned, except by putting away all temptations to it, *to wit*, by the prohibition and suppression of the liquor traffic.

3. The use of opium and tobacco is certainly a very great mischief to all persons addicted to the vulgar, degrading habit. It injures the health, deadens the moral sense of all who subject themselves to its malign influence, leading them often to forget the difference between right and wrong, or to be indifferent to it. It is also a great evil to society in many ways. It wastes the wages of labor and the profits of all legitimate industries, impoverishing the people and subjecting great numbers of them, especially wives and children, to hardships and privations to which they would not otherwise be exposed.

6. [Gen. Dow's reasons for his recent withdrawal from the Republican party to join the Prohibition party, are given in "*The Voice Extra*, No. 1," 5 cents, Funk & Wagnalls, 10 & 12 Dey Street, New York.]

FROM JOHN B. FINCH, OMAHA, NEB.,

A Vice-President of Nat. Temp. Soc. (also Chairman of National Executive Committee of the Prohibition Party) :

The mistakes of the past have been corrected by all live temperance societies, and we are not far enough advanced to change our platform, even if it should ever be desirable, which I doubt.

FROM SAMUEL D. HASTINGS, MADISON, WIS.,

A Vice-President of Nat. Temp. Soc. (also P. G. W. C. T. of Good Templars):

1. Yes; total abstinence from everything alcoholic.

2. Yes; total prohibition of the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic preparations, without any exceptions.

3. I think opium should be specifically named in the law when alcohol and tobacco are named. In the law of this State none of these articles are specifically named; the terms used are "stimulants and narcotics." The latter part of the above I answer, YES.

4. I don't know as I can say that any method of temperance work has been weighed and found wanting. *Moral suasion alone* as a remedy for intemperance has certainly been weighed and found wanting, but moral suasion, as a method of temperance work, is, and always has been, and always will be, of the greatest importance, but it will amount to but little unless supplemented by legal suasion. If licensing the liquor traffic is regarded as a "method of temperance work," in my judgment it has been weighed, and both high and low license have been found wanting.

5. The public advocacy of the principles of temperance and the right and duty of the prohibition of the liquor traffic by the preacher, by the lecturer, by conventions, by camp-meetings, through the press, in newspapers, magazines, tracts, in larger works for Sunday-schools and for general circulation, I regard as methods that have been tried and proved to be useful and efficient. If prohibition is regarded as a "method of temperance work," in my judgment it has been tried, and in all cases proved a success, when in the hands of faithful officers to enforce it.

6. Intemperance can never be removed until the legalized traffic in intoxicating drinks is suppressed. This traffic can never be destroyed except by a party that will *enact* and *enforce* laws that are *intended* to and that *will secure* this result. Neither of the old parties as now organized and controlled have either the disposition or the power to do this. It can only be done by a party that can draw into its ranks all the opposers of the traffic. Whenever either one of the present parties is hopelessly broken up, the question of the suppression of the liquor traffic can be made the *great issue*, and then all the opponents of the traffic will come together in a party that will meet and settle the issue forever. The present Prohibition party is the forerunner of the great party of the future that is to do this work, as the old "Liberty party" was the forerunner of the Republican party that destroyed slavery.

FROM A. A. HOPKINS, ROCHESTER, N. Y.,

A Vice-President of Nat. Temp. Soc. (also recently Editor of American Reformer, Prohibition Candidate for Governor of New York in 1882):

1. I think so. Am quite willing to take my chances in the new century for temperance without alcoholic medicines as without alcoholic drinks. I am for the very *totality* of personal prohibition.

2. Relying on the best scientific authority as to the necessities of the arts, and the substitutes for alcohol which are possible therein, I say, Yes. The past clearly teaches that prohibition is a necessity, and a national necessity, and that every exception to absolute prohibition but renders partial prohibition more difficult, and thus unduly discounts the prohibition idea. The arts must not be fostered at the expense of humanity.

3. Certainly. I regard alcohol, tobacco, and opium as the evil trinity, which in large degree must be educated out of existence.

4. Moral suasion without legal suppression. The reformation of men while perpetuating their worst enemy—the saloon system. Every sort of license, as a means of curtailing the drink traffic.

5. Gospel methods, including the "Thou shalt not" of the Gospel law, incorporated into common statutes.

6. The necessity of national sovereignty over the liquor traffic to suppress it, instead of to legalize and perpetuate it, demands a party believing in such sovereignty, and built up to achieve it. Faith and purpose must always precede accomplishment. The old parties neither believe in prohibition nor propose to compel its adoption. As organized, they can never make it a fact. Each has in it too large a liquor element for successful work on prohibitory lines. It must take the temperance men of both parties, of all parties, to meet the enemy opposing and win a victory.

FROM A. A. MINER, D.D., LL.D., BOSTON, MASS.,

A Vice-President of the Nat. Temp. Soc. (also Pres. of Mass. Temp. Alliance):

1. It does.

2. Undoubtedly it does.

3. These things would be well; in fact, they seem indispensable.

4. All systems of license high and low. All side attempts, or circumstantial interference with the traffic, whether by screen laws, bar suppressions, time limitations, or laws which make the seller judge of the drinker.

5. Prohibition with a prohibitory party behind it.

6. A Prohibition party in power is the only guarantee of final success.

FROM WILLIAM H. PATTON, SHUBUTA, MISS.,

A Vice-President of Nat. Temp. Soc.:

1. While I believe that we can find substitutes for all stimulants, yet it would not be best for the cause to advocate abstinence from alcoholic medicines at this time.

2. If we are to have alcohol manufactured in the United States, let it be under the supervision of the Government at one or two points, like our coin, and sold only for medicinal and mechanical purposes, and under the very strictest restriction, with as much discretion as other dangerous poisons. Were we here to take extreme measures we would drive some from us. We find some preachers condemn the use of unfermented wine at Communion.

3. Yes.

4. Anything and everything that does not embrace total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for the State and nation.

5. In our State we have had local option laws prohibiting the selling or giving away of any and everything that will intoxicate. We find that total abstinence must go with total prohibition. We allow parties to send off and get it and use it at home, and only 283 gallons come in eight months, against 2413 corresponding months of the year previous under license. The W. C. T. U. has just reached out State.

6. That it proposes to place principle above every other consideration, and elect men pledged to prohibition. It will unite the good people of the North and the good people of the South, both white and black, on a moral issue.

FROM J. O. PECK, D.D., NEW HAVEN, CONN.,

A Vice-President of the Nat. Temp. Soc.:

1. Unqualifiedly, total abstinence from all forms of stimulants, fermented and distilled, as a beverage, is the logic of the first century. Medical experts must answer the question as to medicines.

2. I firmly believe that prohibition is the only legally and morally righteous settlement of the question concerning the sale of all intoxicants as a beverage.

I consider it ignorant impudence or buncombe for me, a layman in the arts and medicine, to dogmatically make deliverances on this question, where I cannot fully claim to be an expert. This is fanaticism.

3. Yes. Let children be educated to abjure all the above.

4. All of them! It is an exact statement of truth that all have been found wanting in complete efficiency. Some methods have done much—others little. Prohibitory law is needed, but intelligent, intense, inflexible public sentiment is more needed; and needed more and more.

5. Christian temperance, the pledge, moral suasion, and prohibition—either as local option or State enactment.

FROM GEN. LOUIS WAGNER, PHILADELPHIA, PA.,

A Vice-President of Nat. Temp. Soc. (also P. M. W. P. of Sons of Temperance):

1. Yes.

2. It should be total.

3. The results of all poisons, physical or moral, should be included in our course of instruction, not only annually, but continually.

4. All temperance work has been successful to a greater or less degree, and all have contributed to bring us to our present standpoint: Total abstinence by the individual, and total prohibition by the Government.

FROM J. N. STEARNS, NEW YORK CITY,

Cor. Sec. of Nat. Temp. Soc.:

1. Total abstinence from all beverages which contain any element of alcohol is the centennial verdict of science. "Alcoholic foods" are always a fraud, and alcoholic liquors as medicines kill tenfold more than they cure. The world would be infinitely better off if every drop of alcohol were banished from the earth.

2. Total prohibition is the only righteous position of State and nation, and I believe in the near future it will be seen that other agencies or specifics will be found to take the place of alcohol in medicine and the arts. The world lived 5000 years before the art of distillation of alcohol was discovered; and to-day would be better off without it than with it.

3. It would be well to include opium, but the laws thus far passed are very weak—without penalties—and covering a very small part of the education necessary for the correct understanding of the effects of alcohol on the body and the mind, and the body politic.

4. (1) Concentrating too exclusively upon any one phase of the question. (2) Turning your guns upon temperance men and women who do not bow down to your special dogma, instead of fighting the common enemy. (3) Neglecting the educational features and forces

of the reform. (4) Depending upon "High License," "Excise Leagues," and other temporizing expedients as the end to be sought.

5. Total abstinence work among the young; educational work in schools; an organized ballot, and prohibition. The prohibition of the traffic is the only method by law which has done anything toward diminishing the volume of drink and its deadly influence.

6. (1) For the new party: The fact that the old parties as national parties deliberately and persistently refuse to deal adequately with the question. (2) This is a question of more importance than any other before the American people. (3) It is the only question with a moral conviction in it now before the nation.

Against the new party: (1) Is the strong tendency to make the party a chief end, rather than to make the principle of prohibition the prominent question.

(2) The linking with prohibition of other questions upon which the strongest prohibitionists are equally strongly divided in opinion.

(3) The fact that prohibition has been secured, and is being enforced in several States in the North, and in half of the South on the non-partisan basis.

FROM D. C. BABCOCK, D.D., PHILADELPHIA, PA.,

Dis. Sec. of Nat. Temp. Soc.:

1. In my opinion alcohol is a poison to the human system. It is a *product* of vinous fermentation, and is found in both fermented and distilled liquors. Beer, wine, and brandy differ mainly in their percentage of poison. None of them are fitted for food or drink, and should not be used. Alcohol—pure and simple—*may* be of use sometimes as a medicine. New cider and new wine are good, harmless, and beneficial when put up, *prior to fermentation*, as we can fruits, and used in that sweet state. "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red," etc., is a condemnation, *not* of what God makes, but of what man perverts. As God provides it, it is a blessing. By art man changes it into a poison and a curse.

2. (1) In my opinion the duty of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors as beverages rests on their *character*—they are poisons. (2) It is morally wrong to use such liquors as beverages, because they are poisons, and hence it must be morally wrong to furnish them for such use. It is the right and duty of the Government—State and national—to suppress the traffic in them for such use. The manufacture and sale of alcohol for use in the arts and medicine should be regulated by stringent laws.

3. Yes, to all, and also such dangerous, so-called medicines as the essence of ginger, hop bitters, and other liquids, the bases of which are alcohol.

4. There have been attempts to make out that moderation is temperance. But *any* use of a poison as a beverage is intemperance. License is wrong in principle, and can never be made to *work for temperance.* There have been some temperance methods that are not very effective, but they have all left the cause higher than they found it.

5. I would not like to speak with much positiveness on this point. The two fundamental *principles* of the temperance movement of total abstinence and prohibition have been "tried and proved." But "methods" vary and have a relative value.

6. I see a demand for the "Prohibition party" in the fact that the liquor question is now the dominant civil issue, and in the fact that the two old parties either directly favor the liquor interest or refuse to do anything against it. The Prohibition party will either compel one of the old parties to take the temperance issue, or break them up, and secure a new party that will take the issue. The issue cannot be forced into politics, except by party action. It might have been carried higher than it is by non-partisan action, but the Republicans threw themselves in the way, and must be left to learn their folly.

FROM GEN. CLINTON B. FISK, NEW YORK CITY,

Chairman of Finance Com. of Nat. Temp. Soc.:

1. I would make abstinence from alcohol *really total.* I believe with Dr. Nichols, as indicated in his statement in *Popular Science News*, and would plant our flag on that "highest peak."

2. I would make prohibition for the new century total for all the days in every week, and for all ages, sexes, and conditions in all States and Territories. No manufacturing or importation of alcoholics for any purpose whatever.

3. I would make education in regard to the nature of alcohol, tobacco, and opium compulsory in every public school, and would teach every child all the laws relating to childhood and youth, that the children of the land may know that the States enact laws prohibiting the sale of liquors and vicious literature to minors. When Church and Commonwealth and home shall combine for the destruction of the liquor traffic, *then* the traffic will cease. The rum power has laid its hand upon the politics of the nation, States, and municipalities. If the conscience of the nation could be massed against the

evil, the evil would be overthrown. The supreme law of the land must have prohibition indelibly written in it. I hope the new century will not be very old before there shall be no dram-shop in all the land. "Fly swift around," etc.

REV. AND HON. GREEN CLAY SMITH, LOUISVILLE, KY.,

Prohibitionist Candidate for President in 1876:

1. Emphatically, Yes.
2. By all means, Yes.
3. Yes.
4. This is a difficult question to answer. Perhaps all temperance work has done good, but the end must be total prohibition. Let us, however, welcome any help.
6. One of the strongest arguments for a new party is, that it will break down the wall of division between the North and the "solid South," and so unite and save the country.

FROM HON. J. P. ST. JOHN, OLATHE, KAN.,

Prohibition Candidate for President in 1884:

1. I am not only in favor of *total* abstinence as a beverage, but I believe that when used as a medicine alcoholic liquor kills one hundred to every one it saves.
2. Absolute prohibition—for both State and nation—of the importation, manufacture, and sale of all kinds of intoxicating liquors, including always ale, wine, and beer, for beverages.
3. YES.
4. The methods adopted by the Democratic and Republican party. The license system is a fraud and failure.
5. All the methods which have had a tendency to blot out the liquor traffic, from the Washingtonian Society onward and *upward* to political prohibition.
6. There can be no *argument* against a Prohibition party except that it "will hurt the old parties." The liquor interests already has two parties, and the Prohibitionists were compelled to organize a party because neither of the old parties gave prohibition any recognition. The cowardice of the Whig and Democratic parties touching the slavery question *forced* the anti-slavery men to organize the Republican party, and so the cowardice of the Democratic and Republican parties in relation to the liquor traffic has forced the anti-liquor men and women to organize the Prohibition party.

FROM PRESIDENT J. H. SEELYE, D.D., OF AMHERST COLLEGE,
Prohibitionist Candidate for Gov. of Mass. in 1884 :

1. I answer to 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, Yes.
2. I answer yes, to the same extent as before.
3. Yes.
4. The whole so-called license system.
5. That prohibition can and does prohibit ; that "moral suasion" to be effective needs the adjunct of a religious inspiration.
6. That in law alone is the sure basis for any liberty.

FROM D. R. LOCKE ("NASBY"),
Editor of The Toledo Blade :

1. Total abstinence from *all* stimulants and narcotics. The lighter drinks are delusions. It is alcohol the drinker wants, and he will have the amount necessary to produce the desired effect, no matter in what form he takes it. Tobacco makes alcohol a necessity.

2. Absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic *drinks*. Of course alcohol must be manufactured for its uses in the arts, but it should not be permitted except for such uses. *How* to do it is another thing. In prohibiting its manufacture *as a beverage* is all, in my judgment, that can be done. I see no sense in Sunday prohibition and week-day license. I would accept local option where nothing better can be obtained, but only as a temporary thing. Prohibition should be the ultimate.

3. Decidedly.

4. All the different movements have been of use in awakening interest and arousing public attention to the evils of rum, but the real, practical, effective work has been done in Maine, Kansas, and Iowa ; by prohibition, something has been accomplished in those States.

5. Prohibition.

6. I want no distinctive temperance party. I hold prohibition to be a moral, rather than a political, movement, and one which should include men of all parties and all shades of religious opinion. It should be made an all-embracing humanitarian movement, and should only touch political lines when it is necessary to get such legislation as must be had.

From other sources, we add the following opinions on the question of a Prohibition party :

The national Prohibition party is a necessity, and is now a great power in the land. It will strengthen and finally win. The two old political parties are doomed.—T. DE WITT TALMAGE.

I am thoroughly, heartily, and honestly of the conviction that the traffic in strong drink prevailing in our land, resulting from custom, supported by appetite, and intrenched in party, cannot be overthrown until the Christian people of the land are taught the duty of using their political influence, as they have been taught to use their moral influence for its overthrow. . . . For forty years we have been educating the people in the moral and religious aspects of this question, and to-day we can see that we have realized very great success. . . . Our moral convictions upon this subject are clear; our convictions of civil duty concerning the drink must be made equally as clear.—JAMES BLACK [*First Prohibition Candidate for President*, 1872.]*

Argument is always entitled to its own conclusions, and if one half our temperance argument leads to the conclusion that society ought in this matter to protect itself; that every lower and higher consideration gather in a focus at this point, then to remand us again to the argument, to moral suasion, as opposed to the action which should follow it, is to make us impotent, and rob convictions of their appropriate power. . . . Moral suasion aims to persuade the community to what? Why, to renovate itself by its communal force, here and now; and not to fill the ear with platitudes which a moderate drinker will assent to over his very cups. More than this, moral suasion is itself an evil, a gross waste of moral power—a prancing of idle hoof and punching of good ground into mud without going anywhere—when it is robbed of its proper ends and lines of action.—JOHN BASCOM [*President of Wisconsin State University*].

This symposium, while incidentally reasserting, in fresh forms, the arguments for total abstinence and prohibition, is chiefly valuable as showing on what points the leaders of the temperance reform are agreed, and on what points they differ, at the close of the first century of their conflict. There is substantial agreement in regard to the duty of total abstinence from alcoholic *beverages*, including lager beer and new cider, and in regard to

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* 1872, Black, 5,608; 1876, Smith, 9,522; 1880, Dow, 10,305; (1840, Birney, 7,059; 1844, Birney, 62,300; 1848, Van Buren, 291,263;)
1884, St. John, 150,596; 1888, ——————; 1892, ———.
(1852, Hale, 156,149; 1856, Fremont, 1,341,264; 1860, Lincoln, 1,866,352.)

alcoholic *food* being put under similar ban, but as to alcoholic medicines there is need of further experiments and more discussion. So also of alcohol in the arts. The temperance leaders are practically a unit in repudiating all forms of license as both wrong and fruitless, and in demanding prohibition of all alcoholic *beverages*, but there is a difference of opinion as to the necessity of a Prohibition party. My investigations show conclusively that *most of the veteran specialists of temperance think that the time has come when those who believe that prohibition is the most important of political issues should unite in a national reform party, which will make the protection of the home against the saloon its supreme object.*

But a large majority of the believers in prohibition are not yet believers in a Prohibition party. Many of them are willing to "hear both sides." There is no way in which they can do this so favorably and so thoroughly as by joint debates.* It is to be regretted that the challenges to such debates by prohibitionists who believe in a Prohibition party are declined by the champions of the prohibitionists who do not. Temperance conventions and

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* The following resolutions, which together constitute the platform of the veteran specialists of temperance, are suggested as subjects for debates in lyceums, temperance organizations, political clubs and public halls:

Resolved, That, in our judgment, the laws of God, as revealed in nature, history and Scripture, require total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages.

Resolved, That, in our judgment, Prohibition is the only right attitude of Government toward the liquor traffic, and the only method by which Government can, to any considerable degree, reduce the evils resulting from it.

Resolved, That, in our judgment, friends of Prohibition can secure its general and permanent triumph only through a national Prohibition party.

temperance literature have no more pressing work to do at the opening of the new century than to secure, by a kindly comparison of views, a greater union of temperance forces in preparation for an effective attack upon a united enemy. No one who is familiar with recent temperance agitations, North, South, and West, can doubt that nearly or quite half the voters of this nation are already in favor of prohibition. The present problem is to *unite them.*

There is a suggestion for temperance leaders in General Sherman's familiar answer to the question why he and Sheridan always acknowledged the superior generalship of Grant. "It was," he said, "because, while I could map out a dozen plans for a campaign, every one of which Sheridan would swear he could fight out to victory, neither he nor I could tell which of the plans was the best one; but Grant, who simply sat and listened and smoked while we had been talking over the maps, would at the end of our talking tell us which was the best plan, and in a dozen or two words the reason of his decision, and then it would all be so clear to us that he was right that Sheridan and I would look at each other and wonder why we hadn't seen the advantage of it ourselves." The temperance cause needs a Grant who can convince its leaders which of the plans for securing prohibition is *the best one*, and so secure united co-operation in fighting it out.

Napoleon gave his soldiers, after a famous battle, a simple medal inscribed with the sentence, "*I was there*," and the name of the bloody field. Money could not buy from his veterans this little memorial of their part in the campaigns of the great warrior. When the temperance warfare "For God and home and humanity" is over, may every reader of these words be able to say with a victor's joy, "*I was there.*"

APPENDIX.

ARGUMENTS FOR A PROHIBITION PARTY.

SPEECH OF A. B. LEONARD, D.D., PROHIBITION CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR OF OHIO, 1885.*

As often as we bring this question before the public there are always some to say, "Oh, it is not just the time now." We were told that when the national campaign was over, it would be brought up as a State issue, and that then they would have an opportunity to consider the question. We bring the question before you now as a State issue. We are met again to-day with excuses. . . . We are told by managers of parties that the United States Senate should be taken care of. It is attempted to make the people believe that the question of a fair count and an honest ballot is to be the question in politics this fall. No election in the North has any effect on the condition of things in the South. Before General Grant's last term of office had expired, the whole South was in the hands of the Democratic party. From that time down to this day the question of the management of affairs of the South has been in the hands of the Democrats as absolutely as it was possible for it to be. General Grant had an interview with General Buckner a few weeks ago. I want to call your attention to General Grant's ideas of the relations between the North and the South as expressed in that interview. "I have witnessed since my sickness just what I have wished to see ever since the war—harmony and good feeling between the sections. I have always contended that if there had been nobody left but the soldiers we would have had peace within a year after the close of the war. . . . There were some who didn't get warmed up to the fight until after the war was over." . . .

What we need to-day is not less, but more morality in politics. We claim that this question is a political question as well as a moral question, and is the supreme question of the day.

It has come now to be believed that a man must buy his place in elections of the people. Each saloon is supposed to control ten votes. This gives to the saloons of the country 2,000,000 votes. The Liquor-Dealers' Association urged that fact upon parties two years ago.

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* Abridged from *The Voice*, July 23, 1885.

It drains our national resources. . . . Every saloon-keeper is of more injury than a highway robber. The highway robber, if he robs you, at least sends you home sober; but the saloon-keeper robs his man and then sends him home drunk to beat his family and make his home a hell. You will never have good times in this country until this liquor traffic is stopped. Why is it you have these hard times? Thousands of men marching through the streets of your cities, crying labor or bread? You go among them and you will find that the great majority of them are robbed by the saloon-keepers. Instead of saving something to provide against lack of work, they spend the greater amount of their money with the saloon-keepers, and when a little difficulty arises, these men are without the means of support. . . . A man who has become mean enough to manufacture and sell whiskey is a man who has no regard for law. They have no respect for majorities. The majority says, this shall be the law; but the minority of saloon-keepers say, we will trample your law under our feet. That is the influence of the saloon upon our Republic. It defies both the laws of God and man, and so everything that is humane and Divine is trod under foot and disregarded by this overshadowing evil. Is not this a question that ought to get into politics? What do you think of a party which says, "We haven't any opinions on this question"?

5. *The protection of crime by Government licenses must be rebuked and stopped, and prohibition both enacted and enforced.*

You must either say that this traffic must be *free* like trade in any other article, that it shall be *regulated*, or that it shall be *prohibited*. Nobody says that it should be as free as trade in dry goods, or boots or shoes. The next proposition is regulation. The regulation policy proposes a continuance of the crime. It also proposes its protection. The tax is not a penalty. If the man pays the tax as on his farm he says he is entitled to protection in that farm. You pay tax for the purpose of buying protection in your rights of citizenship. The saloon man pays the tax and expects protection. He has a right to expect protection when he pays the tax. Taxation also means responsibility. Voting taxation means taking responsibility. Let me explain what I mean. Here are ten men acting together for the purpose of taking the life of a fellow-citizen. They are arrested, tried, and convicted. The verdict is not that they are each guilty of the one tenth of the murder, but each is guilty of the murder. Their responsibility is not lessened by reason of combination. Carry this to your party now. Here are 400,000 voters who vote for the taxation of a crime, and when you vote for taxing, you vote for put-

ting yourself in the position of taking the responsibility of all the crime flowing from the traffic. Every man that votes for taxing is putting himself in partnership with the saloon business. The United States to-day is a partner in the greatest whiskey business in the world. The United States Government gets ninety cents [out of $1.07] on every gallon of whiskey manufactured to-day. We say also in relation to this matter of regulation that it has been tried everywhere, and there is not a case where it has accomplished anything in reducing the evils of the business. This policy of regulation reminds me of the story of the old man who had two bad sons. They became very unruly and dissipated, and gave the old gentleman a great deal of trouble. He pleaded with them for a long time to do better, and finally he said: "Give me two hundred dollars a year and go on." Prohibition is not proving itself a failure, but a success. It has not proven an entire success, but all statistics show that it has largely decreased the traffic and the evils flowing from it. The trouble in Iowa with the enforcement of the law is not on account of the failure of its principle, but the fact that its execution has got into the hands of the party politicians. But I advocate this principle not on the mere ground of policy, but because it is right. It is right to prohibit. It is wrong to license, and I have no choice as to where my vote shall go on this question. I must simply ask what is right, and when I reach a conclusion on that point, I must go along and do that.

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE BY PROF. WILLIAM GOODELL FROST, PROHIBITION CANDIDATE FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF OHIO, 1885.*

A candid man always wishes to hear both sides. It is not enough to hear the arguments of any party as stated by its enemies. As "third party Prohibitionists" we ask for nothing more, we will be satisfied with nothing less than "a fair hearing." We make no doubt of the sincerity of many good men who still oppose us. We appeal to them confidently, because we know they have the interests of the State and the temperance cause at heart. But we do doubt whether they have fully considered our arguments. Democratic and Republican newspapers have not been anxious to publish them. We believe we can show conclusively that new facts and

NEW CONDITIONS JUSTIFY A NEW DEPARTURE.

We have labored for years past for total abstinence and all movements for moral reform. These efforts have been well rewarded, but

* Abridged from *The Voice*, July 30, 1885.

intemperance is increasing in spite of us. Not content with saving those who fall into the pit, we tried to have the pit filled up, or at least fenced around. We have tried in every way to induce the great political parties to take action on this subject. From year to year we have been promised "something *next* year," but at last even promises are no longer given us. We have come to feel that the case is hopeless unless we adopt an arduous remedy for a desperate disease, and build up a political party which is dedicated to temperance. It is admitted that the

ARGUMENT FOR A NEW PARTY IS STRONGER THAN FORMERLY.

Those who could not support the national movement will help us now that Prohibition is purely a *State* issue. Those who have confidently predicted that the old parties would attack the saloon, as they are disappointed—and not for the first or second time—will cease to lean upon a broken reed. Those who have made the suffrage plank a reason for holding aloof will find that obstacle removed. Those who have thought that other issues were paramount, find that those issues have shrunk while this has expanded.

But there are many real

OBJECTIONS TO OUR COURSE,

and we wish it understood that we have carefully weighed them all. "*By voting for the Prohibitionists you may help the Democrats or Republicans.*" It is not our purpose to help either of the old parties. We draw our recruits in nearly equal proportions from both. Our programme includes the supplanting of them *both.* Our action *may,* incidentally and temporarily, turn the even balance between them, but that is a comparatively slight matter. The principles for which those parties were founded no longer need an organization to defend them. The oppression of Freedmen at the South, which five Republican administrations did not prevent, is rapidly diminishing, and will disappear with education and the agitation of new issues. Moreover, it is beyond the reach of the Governor and Legislature. . . . There are other questions, to be sure, but there is not *one* that comes home to every fireside like this. Neither party has any genuine programme of reform, and they are kept up largely in the interests of the managers and office-seekers, by an appeal to party prejudice and an exaggeration of trifling differences. The time has come for a new party. The trouble is not that we do not have enough public sentiment against the saloon, but that this sentiment is not organized to make itself felt. "*But the old parties have done all that ever has been done for temperance.*" So, the old orchard has borne all the apples we have ever had, but when it fails we put our faith in

the lithe sapling which has never borne an apple, and which may not bear this year or next.

The old parties have not done, and *cannot* do, enough even to check the *increase* of intemperance.

I will not abuse or misrepresent any political party, but it is easy to see

WHY THE OLD PARTIES CAN'T HELP US.

The old parties will *always be compelled* to shield the saloon, *because they both depend upon a certain share of the saloon vote.*

Experience in anti-slavery days and since proves that no great evil can be put down by "pledging candidates." Such efforts only delay decisive action. The old parties so occupy the ground, and are so under the control of the rum power, that no non-partisan movement can secure prohibition. To succeed at all, such a movement must cover the State, which is impossible. In close districts candidates will refuse to give a pledge, or those who do give one will be defeated. Moreover, such pledges, extorted from politicians who had no *heart* to work for temperance, will be broken. The rum power will come with its bribes and threats to the party which controls the Legislature and say, "Stop this temperance bill or we will desert and defeat you at the next election." Our pledged legislators will "fall sick," go "home on important business," etc., and the bill will fail as usual by a few votes.

Besides, we have more to do than to secure a temperance Legislature. *We must be able to secure judges and prosecuting attorneys who will have some interest in* ENFORCING *any temperance law.* The rum power, like the slave power, must be vanquished by a new party raised up for that express purpose. A temperance man nominated as a Republican or Democrat will feel in honor bound to defend his party platform, and not to push temperance in a way which might hurt his party by driving off liquor votes in the cities. A coalition with either of the old parties would hinder our making converts in the other.

One objection remains which has more weight with many good men than they realize or admit.

"THE PROHIBITION PARTY IS A PARTY OF CRANKS,

bitter, extreme, and fanatical." But your knowledge of the Prohibitionists is gathered from their enemies, or from a few obscure representatives of the party. You have not read our standard literature, "Our Appeal to Cæsar," by our National Committee; Judge Pitman's "Alcohol and the State;" President Bascom's "Common

Sense and Prohibition," or Joseph Cook's "Reasons for a New Party."

But, again, how do you endure with equanimity the bitterness of the party to which you now belong? It is not the Prohibitionists who invent opprobrious epithets and burn their opponents in effigy.

The Prohibition party is still in its formative stage, and needs and will welcome the counsel and aid of truly conservative men.

JOSEPH COOK'S FOURTEEN REASONS FOR ESPOUSING THE PROHIBITION PARTY.*

[*Delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston, February 16th*, 1885.]

THREE thousand people assembled in Tremont Temple, Monday, February 16th, to hear Joseph Cook's one hundred and seventy-third lecture. The subject for the prelude was Constitutional Prohibition, State and National, and the utmost interest was manifested. Round after round of applause greeted the speaker's utterances in favor of a new party, with Prohibition as its central aim. Mr. Cook, before beginning his lecture, asked the Chairman, Dr. A. J. Gordon, the eloquent champion of the Prohibition party, to submit to a vote of the audience a resolution in favor of scientific compulsory temperance instruction in the common schools. The resolution was indorsed by a practically unanimous rising vote.

Mr. Cook then spoke as follows:

The liquor traffic is ascending the throne of American politics. Cotton was king for a day and an hour. Whiskey is king, or soon will be. The growth of great cities subjects government under universal suffrage to a dangerous strain. The most vital political issue now before Americans is how to remedy municipal misrule. But the longest root of municipal misrule is the liquor traffic. In wealth and political influence and general mischievousness, the dram-shop oligarchy excels the record of the slave-holding oligarchy. What dethroned slavery? Its insolence, its wickedness, its attempt to rule the nation. What will yet make the liquor traffic an outlaw? Its insolence, its wickedness, its attempt to rule the nation. Our fathers found a new political party necessary to the overthrow of slavery. Is a new political party necessary for the overthrow of the liquor traffic? [Cries of "Yes," "Yes," and "No," "No."]

These opposite voices "Yes" and "No" remind me that I am walking among blazing ploughshares. [Laughter.] No one being responsible for my position, I shall endeavor to run this fierce gaunt-

* Published in *The Voice Extra, No.* 1, by Funk & Wagnalls, N. Y., at $25 per 1000, $3 per 100, 5c. each.

let, and to find a safe path through the clustered points of danger. The hour is a serious one, and something must be risked for the sake of unpopular truth. I am to discuss what appears to me to be the duty most needing emphasis at the present hour ; and I protest, in the presence of this audience, and of any readers to whom my words may come, that I have no selfish motives. I am the exponent of no party or clique or clan among temperance organizations. I am a friend of all strong moral and legal measures for the suppression of intemperance and the liquor traffic. I did not take part in the last Presidential election, for on the day of the contest I was "where rolls the Oregon," and could not vote. I can speak, therefore, with entire freedom from personal prepossessions and prejudices, and I allow myself the more liberty in this discussion because I am not asking for your indorsement.

THREE METHODS OF WARFARE.

Three methods of vigorous legal action against the liquor traffic are commending themselves to the attention of Americans, *and need not necessarily be considered as rivals of each other:*

I. The Law and Order Leagues, of which the purpose is to execute whatever enactment is on the statute book against rum-selling.

II. Non-partisan Constitutional Prohibition, such as has been successful in Maine, Iowa and Kansas, and is advocated by the National Temperance League, recently organized in this city, and deserving our reverence, not only for the ability and public spirit of its membership, but for the general purposes of the moral and political movement it represents.

III. Constitutional Prohibition through a new political party, seeking influence in both the State and the national field.

Now, I grant that it would seem at the first glance at this topic, and it did seem to me up to the last election, that non-partisan Constitutional Prohibition is by far the best method of action. I have defended that method on this platform, and it was your fortune to support it here, a year ago, by a unanimous vote. I should be very glad to see this whole topic of Constitutional Prohibition lifted out of partisan politics. To many minds, the second of these three measures appears to be not only efficient, but sufficient. The reigning political parties certainly ought to permit the submission of the question of Constitutional Prohibition to the people in an utterly non-partisan way. [Applause.]

BUT WE MUST FACE FACTS.

Within six months we have seen in a majority of the States of this Union both political parties bowing down and kissing the blood-

stained robes of the whiskey Moloch, of which the business is to manufacture taxes, paupers, madmen, ruined homes and lost souls. Am I exaggerating the facts? Do you execute your laws against selling liquor to minors and drunkards? The brazen idol Moloch at Jerusalem held out his red-hot arms and received in them children as burnt offerings. The liquor traffic holds out its red-hot arms, and receives in them the children of nominally Christian lands. It sells liquor to minors, and politicians wink at this violation of law in order to obtain the whiskey vote. There is no more astounding piece of barbarism in American civilization than this compounding with the atrocious crimes of the whiskey Moloch. [Loud applause.] And both parties have been guilty of it in a majority of the States of the Union. [Renewed applause.] I know that the Republican party has a noble record on the temperance question in Maine, Kansas, and Iowa. These are States not deeply corrupted by great cities. The Democratic party has a noble temperance record in Maryland and Tennessee. These, however, are plainly exceptional cases. It is our duty to look at this matter from the national point of view; and, taking the whole field of the Union into consideration, the general outlook of the temperance cause in current politics is so dark that we have a right to raise this question: What reasons can be given in favor of the formation of a new political party to advance the interests of Constitutional Prohibition, both State and national?

I am not to assume that these reasons overweigh the reasons that can be given on the other side. I am endeavoring only to secure your attention to the unpopular aspect of this theme. I am anxious only that you should notice there is really something to be said in favor of the organization of a new party to support national reform. [Applause.] I give fourteen reasons which appear to me to have weight in support of the proposition that such a new party should be formed.

FOURTEEN REASONS FOR A PROHIBITION PARTY.

1. In most of the States the reigning political parties have refused to submit the question of Constitutional Prohibition in a non-partisan way to the people.

There is no denying this fact. It is a matter of record in your conventions, your platforms, your elections, that in most of the States—I am now using almost exactly Miss Willard's words—the reigning political party has refused to submit the general question of Constitutional Prohibition in a non-partisan way to the people.*

* [A table in *The Voice*, Aug. 13th, 1885, shows that the Democratic party has enacted prohibition in 10 States and repealed or changed

(1) In New York State the Republican party solemnly promised to favor such submission of the question to the mass of voters, and afterward in the Legislature refused to do so.

This is the grievance on which most emphasis is placed by that veteran temperance reformer—whom may God bless !—Dr. Cuyler, of Brooklyn. He vigorously defends a third party, both for its own sake, and as a means of purifying the Republican party. I hold in my hand certain trenchant words of his, recently addressed to the Republican party, of which he was one of the earliest and stanchest friends :

"Your Convention at Chicago refused to submit to the people the question of protection from the liquor traffic ; your candidate deliberately dodged the question of Prohibition at the polls in Augusta, and then his friends asked us to sustain him ! You put into your platform last year, in the State of New York, a pledge to submit the question of Prohibition to the people, and your Republican Legislature violated that pledge. In some States the Republican party have acted nobly in passing enactments for curtailing the rum power ; in other States they have repealed prohibitory laws ! At the South the Democrats have done more for temperance than you have done. These are all solid, incontestable facts . . . This whole question of dealing with the whiskey-rings and the dram-shop oligarchy has come into politics and come to stay." [Applause.] (*National Temperance Advocate*, January, 1885, p. 9.)

REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION.

(2) Sixteen Republican Legislatures have recently refused to favor the submission of Constitutional Prohibition to the vote of the people.

(3) It is said by the friends of non-partisan action that ninety per cent of the strength of Prohibition as a political principle is, or was, in the Republican party. But in what commonwealth, possessed of great cities, has this party of late favored the prohibitory principles ? It is the standing inculcation of leading Republican organs that Prohibition must be prohibited in the Republican party (*Chicago Tribune*).

(4) In the Republican national platform of 1872 was placed the famous Raster Resolution—viz. : "The Republican party propose to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Gov-

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it in 5. Republican figures are 8 and 5. The Democratic party has refused to allow the people to vote for a Prohibitory Amendment in 8, and consented in 1. Republican figures are 10 and 6.—Ed.]

ernment. It disapproves of a resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with the rights not surrendered by the people to either State or national Government." This enigmatical utterance received a perspicuous explanation in 1882. This same Mr. Raster and his Republican friends adopted the following, in Convention, in Cook County, Illinois :

"And further, believing that religion, temperance and morals can be best inculcated by the Church and the school and the home, we therefore utterly condemn and denounce as a measure essentially unrepublican and despotic, the adoption of Constitutional Amendments prohibiting the manufacture and sale of fermented and distilled beverages, *and instruct our representatives in the State Legislature* not only to resist and oppose all propositions to destroy individual freedom by prohibitory laws, but *especially to resist and oppose every effort to submit to a vote of the people any Constitutional Amendments like those lately adopted in Kansas and Iowa.*"

(5) The National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1884 refused to favor the submission of this matter to a vote of the people.

(6) The principles and history of the Democratic party, which has lately returned to power, and perhaps may not soon be unseated, make it notoriously unworthy of the support of the friends of Constitutional Prohibition. In spite of the fact that some Southern Democratic Legislatures favor Prohibition, the latest national platform of that party sneers at the prohibitory principle, and assumes a craven and apologetic attitude in presence of the liquor traffic.

PRESENT PARTIES UNTRUSTWORTHY.

It appears, therefore, that neither of the most prominent political parties can be trusted to do the work of initiating this reform, or to permit the people to initiate it. [Applause.]

I do not assert that our friends, who think we should act in an utterly non-partisan way in this matter, are hoodwinked. They must act on their own judgment as to the probable future action of the established political parties. I confess I think their expectations too sanguine. As Patrick Henry used to affirm, I have no lamp to guide my feet but that of experience ; and, judging by the fact that, in a majority of the States of the Union, each party has refused to allow the question of Constitutional Prohibition to be submitted in a non-partisan way to the people, what are we to think of the probable future ?

2. After Constitutional Prohibition has been passed, the reigning political parties of to-day cannot be trusted to execute it.

In Ohio a majority of voters expressed themselves in favor of Con-

stitutional Prohibition. On the same day a State Legislature was elected which favored the liquor traffic.

3. Cities are growing in population faster than the country at large, and, as the whiskey vote has its chief strength in cities, the present bad state of affairs, arising from the domination of that vote, may be expected to grow worse, so that political parties which can hardly be reformed to-day, will be still less susceptible of reform as the years advance.

The threats of disaster from the corruption of politics by the liquor traffic are greater than most of us dream. A more rapid measure than non-partisan Constitutional Prohibition is needed. A crisis produced by the growth of great cities demands a new party to support State and national reform. [Applause.]

Must we not admit, in common candor, that there is much reason to be found in our recent political history for the positions assumed in these resolutions of the latest national Conference of leading friends of Constitutional Prohibition?

"Constitutional Prohibition of the liquor traffic is the right of a majority of the people; and the attempt of any legislature to prevent the submission of this question to the decision of a popular vote, when petitioned for by a large and respectable body of citizens, is an abuse of legislative power, and a violation of official duty.

"The honest enforcement of law is the object of just government. *The national Prohibition party has no confidence that either the Democratic or Republican party will so legislate for or administer government in behalf of citizens, as to secure them in their just rights, by the legal destruction of the national liquor crime;* and the purpose of this party is to exchange the present policy in administration that favors and protects crime, for the right and just policy of protection to citizens against crime.

"The Prohibition of the liquor traffic is a national issue to be consummated by Amendment to the Federal Constitution; and the Prohibition party is a necessity to secure such Amendment, and to maintain an administration in power favorable to its enforcement."

NAMING THE NEW PARTY.

4. Let the new organization be called the National Reform party. While making Constitutional Prohibition a main issue, this party should adopt all the better measures of current politics in relation to other vital matters, such as Anti-Polygamy, Civil Service Reform, National Aid to Education, the Indian and the Chinese Question, the Purity of the Ballot-box, Integrity in Candidates for Office, Economy in Administration, Regulation of the Tariff. I know that there is danger in making a political party too broad; there is danger, also,

in making it too narrow. The National Reform party should steal thunder from all the four quarters of the political sky.

5. A broad, eclectic, National Reform party, thus organized, would have a fair hope of either purifying the practice of its rivals, by holding the balance of power, or else of superseding them.

Great is the present hour in American politics. It is an era of transition and new births. Let us have statesmen, not mere politicians and partisans to organize our efforts! [Applause.] After all, is not the depth of the heart of the people the safest place in which to seek counsel as to our duty in this time of trial? The people think more of the fate of the country than of that of any political party. The growth of our great cities has pushed into American politics a new question as to the possible outlawry of the liquor traffic; and it is only in the depths of the conscience of the nation that we can find safe advice on this subject, as it was only there that we found safe advice on the subject of slavery.

"New occasions teach new duties: Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth.
Lo! before us gleam her camp-fires! We ourselves must Pilgrims be;
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate Winter sea."

—LOWELL, "The Present Crisis."

6. Carrying several States, it would be natural and Constitutional for a National Reform party to demand that the national Government should do all it can for the suppression of the liquor traffic.

DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

7. The national Government can suppress the liquor traffic in the District of Columbia and the Territories. It can abolish the national distilling and brewing business, which makes the nation a partner in poisoning itself. [Applause.] It can prohibit the importation of foreign liquors. It can submit to the States an Amendment to the national Constitution prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in the United States. [Applause.]

8. The Dominion Parliament of Canada, by a vote of 122 to 140, has already pledged itself to pass a national law to prohibit the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, as soon as it shall be shown that a majority of the Canadian citizens are in favor of it. [Applause.]

The enthusiasm on this topic that rolls in great deluges over Ontario, must be witnessed close at hand to be understood. You think I am running ahead of the times in a manner very fanatical. But, if you please, I have just been over the border into the British Maritime Provinces, and a few months ago I was at Winnipeg in Manitoba and at Victoria on Vancouver Island. It has been my fortune to see the Dominion, of late, from sea to sea. I find American populations, even in the Mississippi Valley, torpid on this theme, and despairing at times, where Canadian populations exhibit vigor and hope. According to the indications of the hour, the Dominion of Canada is likely to pass, earlier than the United States, a national enactment, making the liquor traffic an outlaw.

THE POSITION OF THE CHURCHES.

9. I beg you to notice that the most conservative religious bodies in England are now demanding vigorous prohibitory legislation.

10. I ask you to remember that the Roman Catholic Church itself, in the United States, begins to demand it.

I hold in my hands a portion of a speech made lately by Cardinal Manning, in which he says :

"I impeach the liquor traffic of high crimes and misdemeanors against the Commonwealth, and I ask you, in the name of common-sense and common justice, can you withhold from those intrusted with the high responsibility of the ballot, the power of applying their votes in the form of a veto when it is proposed, without consulting them, to put in the midst of them these places for the sale of intoxicating drinks?" . . .

Precisely such sentiments as these have lately been uttered by Canon Wilberforce, whom our great American evangelist calls the most eloquent preacher of the Establishment. I beg you to remember the position lately assumed on the topic of temperance by the Catholic Plenary Council at Baltimore. Its language, I hope, will become historic. In its pastoral letter, sent out to the clergy, it says : "We not only direct the attention of all pastors to the repression of this abuse, but we also call upon them to induce all their flocks, that may be engaged in the sale of liquors, to abandon, as soon as they can, the dangerous traffic, and to embrace a more becoming way of making a living." [Laughter.]

Father O'Connor, of New York, as you, Mr. Chairman, have lately been asking us to notice, says that in that city there are 10,000 liquor-shops, 7,000 of which pay a license for carrying on their nefarious traffic, and that of these 7,000 licensed saloon-keepers, 6,500 are Irish and German Catholics. The Catholic priests in the diocese of

Boston are asking our Legislature for a law preventing the sale of liquor within four hundred yards of a church. Bishop Ireland, of St. Paul, has lately refused to admit to the Catholic communion any liquor-seller in his parish. [Applause.] Let me echo, let us all echo the words of our Chairman this morning (turning to the Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon):

"Would that a vigorous Papal bull were let loose upon these heretics to human virtue and domestic peace! [Applause.] Even Protestants would lend a hand at enforcing a Vatican decree that would shut the doors of these conventicles of domestic schism and social misrule." [Applause.]

(See Dr. Gordon's article on "Romanism and Reform," in *The Watchman*, February 5th, 1885.)

THE W. C. T. UNION'S WORK.

11. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, a national organization of commanding influence, favors the formation of a new political party. After prolonged discussion of the theme, it does this deliberately by an overwhelming majority of its votes in a national Convention.

Allow me to read the very serious words of Miss Willard, at the St. Louis Convention; for they express the profoundest convictions of one of the most eminent leaders of current reform, who certainly has had marvellous opportunities to study this theme in every commonwealth of the Union:

"The study I have made of these living issues during the hot debate of this campaign, has committed me unalterably to national movements for these great objects, as the only consistent method of our national society. . . . As a national society we could not act in view of Republican efforts for Prohibition in isolated States, as Iowa and Kansas; nor yet in view of Democratic, as in Maryland or Tennessee; but we had to act from a national point of view. Each party had refused to submit the Prohibition Amendment in most of the States, and its bid was for the liquor vote." (*The Union Signal*, October 30th, 1884, p. 4.)

Her conclusion is that nothing will secure Constitutional Prohibition or its enforcement without a National Reform party.

12. A National Prohibition party has been formed, and cannot easily be disbanded. [Applause.]

Such is the fact, however much we may regret the result of the last election. We seem to forget the Independents in New York State, and the attitude of more than one disaffected political leader, who might have carried the State, perhaps, for the Republican nominee,

had he spoken. We forget the solid South ; we forget the effect of the epigram concerning "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." There were several influences which I believe were quite as powerful in defeating the Republican candidate in New York, as the Prohibition vote ; and yet, it may be, that the Prohibition vote should bear a very large part of the responsibility of that defeat. You cannot tell in advance what exigencies will arise in a closely contested national election ; and we can only say that experience must be the basis on which we judge of the wisdom, both of those who would form a third political party, and those who would not.

I grant that there is some reason for saying that the formation of a third political party in 1884 was premature. But is the formation of such a party *now* premature? [Voices, "No."] That is the question I raise this morning. Do not mistake my inquiry. I am not here as the advocate of any existing third party. It is not a third party that I suggest, but rather a new party, which might hope to become second and ultimately first. I am not asking whether it was right in the last Presidential election to form a third party. I am asking whether, now, when each of the large parties has refused, in most of the States, to submit Constitutional Prohibition in a non-partisan way to the people, and when the Democratic party is in power, and when the Republican party shows feeble purpose of reform in any State afflicted by great cities, it may not be worth while to consider the question whether we should seek, at the present moment, a reorganization of parties to be ready for action in 1888. [Applause.] My question is, What does political necessity require us to do in view of the revelations of the subserviency of existing political parties to the liquor traffic in the last election? I do not conceal my hope and conviction that opportunity is ripening for the formation of a National Reform party [applause], to which I should expect to draw the best men of all outgrown parties, and in which, of course, Constitutional Prohibition would be a supreme object.

WHAT WHISKEY FEARS.

13. There is nothing the whiskey rings more fear than the formation of such a broad, eclectic, National Reform party.

14. The insolence and criminality of the whiskey rings and their wealth and political influence are increasing so rapidly that, unless a powerful political party outlaws the liquor traffic, there is reason to fear that municipal misrule may imperil Republican institutions in all the larger American cities and in the States under the control of such cities, and become so virulent as to be capable of being put down at last only by military force.

I travel much; I have opportunity to consult with many leaders of public sentiment. Twelve of the twenty-four aldermen of New York are, or lately were, liquor-dealers.* In Boston there is one licensed saloon to 150 persons; in Chicago one to 140; in New York one to 135; in Buffalo and Albany, one to 100. The annual drink bill of the United States is not far from $1,000,000,000. The annual sum raised by taxes of all kinds, national, State, county, town and school district, is only about $700,000,000. (See Bishop Ireland's Address at Buffalo, March 10th, 1884.) The expenditure of the nation for liquor is every year greater than that for meat or bread or public education, or for all three of these together. The liquor traffic is already as great and as powerful an evil as slavery was. I confess that the more I study the topic of municipal misrule, and of the whiskey rings as connected with such misgovernment, the more I fear that the wealth and insolence of the rum traffic will lead at last, under free government, to a street barricade war. Slavery went down in blood. So, perhaps, will the liquor traffic, with the municipal misrule resulting from it.

AN IMPENDING DANGER.

Thomas Carlyle predicted that all great modern cities will come finally to the position in which Paris was under the Commune, unless the reputable side of society organizes itself aggressively to counteract the dangers which make universal suffrage a peril. I stood lately among the ruins of the public buildings burned by the mob in Cincinnati. I remember the railway riots of 1877. We are performing an experiment, not only in the face of the whole world, but for the benefit of the entire earth. It is for Americans, who believe in government of the people, for the people, and by the people, to see that such government is made so wise and strong as not to perish from the earth. There is growing up in the liquor traffic a power that already has its clutches on our throats; and a loss of time in organizing National Reform may be the loss forever of an opportunity to save our nation from being wrecked by municipal misrule. Therefore, for one, I pray God to send us such a recrystallization of politics as shall throw all the best elements of society into a National Reform party. [Applause.]

[* The Church Temperance Society has ascertained that in the fall of 1884 the Republican party of New York City held one half its primaries and Conventions in saloons, and the Democrats three fourths. —When the caucus does not go to the saloon, the saloon goes to the caucus.—In Chicago the *voting-places* were mostly saloons.—Ed.]

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